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Southeastern Tanzanian Benedictine Monasteries: Filling a Void of Governmental Services for the Poorest Regions

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University of Southern Mississippi

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Southeastern Tanzanian Benedictine Monasteries: Filling a Void of
Governmental Services for the Poorest Regions

by

John Brigance Christie-Searles

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts & Sciences
and the Department of Political Science, International Development & International
Affairs
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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Approved by:

Dr. Joseph J. St. Marie, Committee Chair
Dr. Bruce Venarde
Dr. Robert Pauly
Dr. Tom Lansford

Dr. Joseph J. St. Marie
Committee Chair

Dr. Edward Sayre
Department Chair

Dr. Karen S. Coats
Dean of the Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

This research illuminates the partnership of a particular civil society actor, Benedictine monasteries, in achieving developmental goals and delivery outcomes for education and health in Tanzania. Faith based organizations (FBOs) like these Benedictine monasteries quietly persevered with their work. These monasteries without governmental support were able to achieve similar results in areas of Tanzania deprived of infrastructure and consistent governmental administrative attention.

Monastic apostolate fervor is similar to the professionalism exhibited by international aid organizations and nongovernmental organizations in their desire to meet the needs of the poor. Motivations are complex and varied from evangelization to political and strategic agendas to economic paradigm promulgation (socialism, capitalism, and communism).

The analysis used mixed-methods for the purpose of testing the hypotheses. There are two dependent variables: educational attainment and infant mortality. These two variables are chosen because of linkages to government spending and government activities associated with educational attainment and infant mortality is well documented. Regression analysis was used to test outcomes in health and education based on the independent variables of rural percentage of population, population, Benedictine presence, and per capita income by region. Case studies will focus on four distinct regions within Tanzania, two in the north (Mwanza and Shinyanga) and two in the south (Rukwa and Ruvuma). Benedictine monasteries indeed fill the void of governmental services in Rukwa and Ruvuma regions and support the achievement of higher educational attainment and lower infant mortality rates in those regions.

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DEDICATION

May the favor of the Lord our God rest on us; establish the work of our hands for us— yes, establish the work of our hands. Psalm 90:17

To my parents Harry Vonzell Searles and Arthur Jean Searles,
to Drs. Stephen and Jean Carr, who opened their home to me and believed in me more than I believed in myself,
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Figure 1. Map of Africa

CHAPTER I -Setting

This dissertation explores Benedictine monastic activities in Tanzania and how monasteries in Southern Tanzania in particular perpetuate the traditions of education and health care provision, that in turn support developmental goals of the United Republic of Tanzania. In this opening chapter the research will introduce the history of monasticism, extending to its contemporary expressions especially on the African continent. The movement of the centuries-old religious tradition from Europe to Africa is a fascinating journey, one that could be explored in greater depth in future research. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century German missionaries' propagation of this tradition proves indivisible from the present-day phenomenon of African Benedictine monasticism. This Chapter begins with a historical overview and definition of Benedictine monasticism and then progresses to its current manifestation in Tanzania. Subsequently, Chapter 2 examines the relevant literature that supports the research question for the study. Chapter 3 will discuss the data and qualitative methodology used to answer the research question. Chapter 4 approaches the research question quantitatively with regression analysis. Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative methods and the findings. And, finally, Chapter 6 will conclude the research and propose future research questions and policy recommendations to be explored. So, to begin, it is helpful to juxtapose a current understanding of monasticism with its historical roots. Shall we go back to the future?

Popular culture, the movie industry, and tourism unceasingly discover rich subject matter in what is referred to as Western monasticism. Silent, solitary monks dressed in

cowls, chanted prayers, choirs, secluded locations, and cloisters excite the imagination of writers, artists, and movie-makers. Building upon this popular conceptualization of Western monasticism, this dissertation explores how monastic communities form for the higher purposes of spiritual growth and the salvation of their members. It further addresses how their internal practices often find expression outside the cloister wall, both in ancient and modern times in the form of educational and health services to those in need. It is important to acknowledge in this research as we explore the influence of European monastics on Africans, specifically Tanzanians, that monasticism originated in Africa, Egypt to be precise, and its origins, like those of Christianity itself, are Eastern (La Corte and McMillan, 2004). Ultimately, this dissertation will attempt to connect Western monasticism, as practiced in Southern Tanzania, to the efforts of poor-relief and development in Sub-Saharan Africa. If adequately quantified, this contribution from the monastic community can be shown to be an important consideration for a country which is committed to developing strategies and measurable goals to combat poverty. This connection between monastic life and poverty alleviation has a historical basis in the proliferation of ancient communities that followed a specific way of life, a way of life originating with a man born in the district of Nursia in Italy around 480 CE of distinguished parents, who sent him to Rome for a liberal education: St Benedict.

Origins of the Benedictine Tradition

Little is known of St Benedict's early life and nothing was written about him until Gregory the Great's (540-604 CE) sketch of him in a book called *Dialogues*. Gregory the Great writes that "in his desire to please God alone, he turned his back on further studies, gave up home and inheritance and resolved to embrace the religious life. He took this

step, well aware of his ignorance, yet wise, uneducated though he was” (Zimmerman, 1959). In response to his calling, St Benedict experimented with religious life over an unspecified time. It was at Subiaco, Italy that “Benedict made his home in a narrow cave and for three years remained concealed there” (Zimmerman, 1959). The conditions were hard, and were it not for the generosity of St. Romanus, who lived in a nearby, it is doubtful that St. Benedict would have survived alone.

Gregory tells us that through interactions with the monk Romanus and through the spreading of knowledge about St Benedict’s practices of solitude and prayer, the nearby community of monks became interested in St. Benedict. With the recent death of their abbot, they sought to persuade St. Benedict to fill the vacant position as their superior. St Benedict was reluctant to join the community, especially to become their superior. He was keenly aware that his way of life would never correspond with theirs. As Gregory the Great recounts, “they kept insisting, until in the end he gave his consent” (Zimmerman, 1959). The monastic community was contentious for St. Benedict and he sought after a solution to reconcile the different outlooks on monastic life between him and that particular community.

Thus, the beginnings of Western monasticism as it is understood and practiced today began with this union between this monastic community and St. Benedict. Gregory the Great acknowledged St. Benedict as a man known for the wisdom of his teaching. The memorable example of his teaching was to be found in his authorship of “a rule for monks that is remarkable for its discretion and its clarity of language.” It is through the Rule, according to Gregory the Great, that one can discover “what he was like as abbot, for his life could not have differed from his teaching” (Zimmerman, 1959). Although the

Rule of St. Benedict dominated monasticism in the West from the sixth to the eleventh centuries and beyond, there are at least two earlier important Western rules (La Corte and McMillan, 2004).

Firstly, St. Augustine (354-430 CE), Bishop of Hippo in North Africa, molded Western theology in the early church. His rule became influential with the development of non-monastic orders in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The other rule of importance was that of St. Caesarius of Arles (470-542 CE), which was considered to be the prototypical Western rule for nuns. The latter rule introduced a command for strict enclosure which differs greatly from that of St. Benedict. It is the flexibility and the adaptability of the Rule of St. Benedict which has made it an abiding and guiding spiritual treatise in Western Christendom.

St Benedict's impetus for writing the Rule was to design a way to live in community in harmony and mutual support. An overreliance on the world outside of the cloister would compromise the goals of the monastery. It was because of Gregory the Great that a robust understanding of the genesis of the Rule, as well as the status of St. Benedict as a teacher, can be learned.

Teaching was an important component of religious life in the time of St. Benedict. Again, turning to the *Dialogues*, St Benedict's fame spread rapidly "and before long he had established twelve monasteries at Subiaco, with an abbot and twelve monks in each of them. It was about this time that pious noblemen from Rome first came to visit the saint and left their sons with him to be schooled in the service of God" (Zimmerman, 1959). Although this was the way Gregory captured St. Benedict's interactions with the world outside of the cloister, the interpretation of the Rule made possible other

interactions and exchanges in which his monks could support and become integrated in the community around them.

What exactly is the Rule of St. Benedict? At the end of the prologue to the 73 chapters that comprise the Rule, St. Benedict states “thus we must found a school for the Lord’s service. In its design we hope we will establish nothing harsh, nothing oppressive” (Venarde, 2011). The Rule is a simple, yet flexible, blueprint or guide advancing multiple goals to be met as a community while ultimately creating an environment focused on strengthening the relationship between individuals and God. The adaptability of the Rule affords it a resilience and utility for both the adhering monastics and laity outside of the cloister. The Rule takes into consideration the needs of the individual, and cultural context weighs heavily on the application of the Rule. Additionally, the flexibility of the Rule affords it leeway to change over time, or allow for different interpretations. Over the centuries the Rule has been used by both male and female and mixed monastic communities; it is followed the world over. The types of poor-relief and/or internal industry offered in monasteries following the Rule vary monastery by monastery from the creation of hospitals to the installation of small- and large-scale manufacturing to creating institutions of education to cattle ranching to sheep and chicken-rearing. Historically in Europe, the effects of monasticism are still present from past endeavors of “clearing of primeval forests, the reclamation of fetid swamps, the cultivation of vast deserts, the preservation of classic literature, the diffusion of the blessings of education” (O’Conner, 1921).

The Rule is foremost the “artifact,” as Herbert Simon would define it, of this spiritual organization. It is the spiritual interests of the men (and women) that lead them

to form communities. Moreover, it is the Rule that is portable with practical value and down-to-earth applications. In modern terms, the Rule and those who practice the Rule could have considered it as a “franchise,” albeit of a spiritual nature. This adherence to the Rule does *not* make a community a monastery in communion with one of the 19 different congregations that make up Western monasticism today: English, Hungarian, Swiss, Austrian, Bavarian, Brazilian, Solesmes, American Cassinese, Beuronese, Swiss American, Ottilien, Annuciation, Slav, Olivetan, Vallombrosan, Camaldolese, Sylvestine, Cono Sur, and Subiaco-Cassinese (Wright, 2018). The federal structure of the Benedictine Confederation allows each monastery and Congregation the freedom to develop according to its own vocation and according to its own responsibility within its particular religious and social movement. Still, communities could adopt the Rule and put it into practice wherever they choose, creating “a carefully ordered routine of prayer, work, and study, which filled the day, varying only according to the liturgical year and the natural seasons” (Lawrence, 2000). As a guide, the Rule of St. Benedict set the goals for the community. Goals of the monastery are to be contemplative, self-reliant, and preferably self-sustaining, “...if possible, the monastery should be set up so that all necessities – that is, water, a mill, a garden – are inside the monastic compound and various crafts can be practiced there, so there is no need for monks to roam outside, which is not at all beneficial for their souls” (Venarde, 2011). The organizational design is hierarchical, with the abbot as spiritual leader supported by a community of monks and, often, novices, postulants, and observers. The abbot requires knowledge about all aspects of the monastery because he is ultimately responsible for all that happens in the monastery and the men whom he leads through the Rule of St. Benedict. Other monks

have varied responsibilities and tasks, for example, the prior, the cellarer, the guest master, and the master of novices. “The Tools for Good Works”: caring for the poor

Moreover, there are monks who take care of animal husbandry and agricultural activities that support the community. Overall, interactions with the surrounding community are restricted but integral to the goals of the monastery, including the care for the poor.

It is within a modern political science context that the Rule of St. Benedict’s expression of caring for the poor concerns development professionals. Within the 73 Chapters there are numerous references to caring for the poor: “The greatest care should be shown in the reception of the poor and pilgrims because in them especially Christ is welcomed... receiving new clothes, brothers should always return the old ones at once, to be put in the wardrobe for the poor... if a monk entering the community has any property, he should... distribute it to the poor beforehand... as soon as someone knocks or a poor person calls out, the porter should reply ‘Thanks be to God’ or ‘Bless me’ and he should give his reply quickly with loving warmth and all the gentleness of the fear of God” (Venarde, 2011). As Lawrence notes, “Feeding the hungry and clothing the naked was an evangelical precept that was reiterated in the Rule, and most monasteries took it seriously... monastic alms-giving was the only regular form of poor-relief that existed in medieval society” (Venarde, 2011). One notable service provided by the monks to the poor (and the rich) is education.

Education serves an important role in monastic life. The monastery is described by St. Benedict as a school, although it is not clear he meant the word *school* in the way we perceive a school in modern times. The school St. Benedict refers to represents the

Greek idea of a collective of individuals brought together for a common purpose. Given the presence of child-oblates (babies and young children given to the monastery by pious parents), it was incumbent upon the monastery to have a school in the cloister and monk-schoolmasters to educate them. Formal instruction within the cloister was reserved for children who were destined to become monks within the community. Over time “many of the Benedictine abbeys and priories were proprietors of grammar or song schools, which were conducted in a house outside the enclosure” (Lawrence, 2000). The evolution of religious education into practical learning for administering and governing had benefits for the ruling elite and the populace in general. In chapter 38 of the Rule, St. Benedict encourages communal reading during mealtimes, and, also, in chapter 48, St. Benedict invites monks to read as a solitary pursuit during Lenten season. This, of course, does not preclude daily reading during the rest of the year.

Providing for the health needs of communities and individuals is an inescapable aspect of charity in which early monasteries engaged. Monasteries have historically participated in what is often regarded by the faithful as public good. Healthcare was one of the most intimate aspects, and oftentimes a less visible one, of public good. Other more identifiable contributions such as liturgical and scribal services have eclipsed lesser known functions like healthcare. Charity work, a frequently hidden function, in its broadest sense included helping pilgrims, who often had great need for shelter, medical attention, food and water.

The Rule and the prescriptions of the Church

Years before and at the time of St. Benedict there were various rules practiced by monks, serving as a proto-modernizing force for the western world. In the sixth century the first Latin-language treatises appeared that offered a coherent plan for a monastic community. The earliest of these were the rules composed by Caesarius of Arles, the unknown 'Master' who provided St. Benedict with a literary model, and St. Benedict. Those of Caesarius were compiled in Gaul, those of Benedict and the Master in Italy (Lawrence, 1990). Therefore, the hegemony of a particular rule for monastic life in the West was still centuries away.

The spread of the Rule of St. Benedict crossed the European continent from Italy to England and then to Germany. "Many monastic rules ...were in use during this period of dissemination. St. Columbanus was a well-known monastic who appeared after St Benedict. In 590 he left Ireland for the continent" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1983). It was he who brought a rule from Ireland to the continent, namely the Frankish realm. "Already in the *Regula monachorum* of Columbanus we find reminiscences of St. Benedict's Rule; and it was through the followers of the great Irishman... that St. Benedict came to influence Frankish monasticism. The immediate result was the diffusion of what is called the Mixed Rule: a mixture, that is, of St. Benedict [and] Columbanus" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1983).

St. Columbanus (540-615 AD) was successful in influencing people as far as the Frankish realm: "This special relationship between the monastery and its founding dynasty helps to explain the success of St. Columbanus and his disciples in promoting Irish monasticism in Gaul. From the outset St. Columbanus directed his mission to the

Merovingian court and he made his most influential conquests among the court aristocracy” (Lawrence, 1990). Friends in high places and St. Columbanus’ independence from episcopal control facilitated the creation of monasteries throughout the Frankish realm. Additionally, under this system of patronage, the founding family of a monastery might exercise control over the property and the choice of abbot. As was understood in years to come by monks and nuns of the communities in the Frankish realm, “if a monk or a nun, who happens to be a member of the founder’s family, be set to preside there, whether as abbot or as abbess, he or she shall be consecrated by the bishop of the city” (McKitterick, 2008).

From England, a young man, St. Boniface, who was exposed to the Rule of St. Benedict in his youth, would be instrumental in the missionary work in the Frankish realm as well. Boniface – or Winfrid, his English name – was born in Wessex in 680 CE and died in Frisia in 754 CE (Noble & Head, 2010). After a monastic upbringing, “there, surrounded by his friends, he made known to the abbot his desire to enter the monastic life and, in a manner mature for his years, presented his petition according to the instructions previously given to him by his parents. The father of the monastery thereupon took counsel with the rest of the brethren and, after receiving their blessing as is prescribed by the monastic rule, gave his consent” (Noble and Head, 2010). His monastic fervor led to an emergence of missionary monasticism from the Anglo-Saxon Church to the Frankish Church. One of his many letters from the pope gives readers insights into his forays on the continent: “You inform us that you have visited the Bavarian people and found that they were not living in accordance with the prescriptions of the Church, that there was but one bishop in that province, a certain Uiuido whom we

ordained a long time ago” (Noble and Head, 2010). The Frankish realm was undergoing consolidation concurrently with the expansion of Christianity through missionary efforts. As St Boniface writes in this letters, “Without the support of the Frankish prince I can neither govern the members of the Church nor defend the priests, clerks, monks, and maids of God; nor can I, without orders from him and the fear inspired by him, prevent the pagan rites and the sacrilegious worship of idols in Germany” (Noble and Head, 2010).

Through the evangelization of St. Columbanus and St. Boniface the Frankish realm established a foundation for a practice that is now called in development terms modernization, basically an undoing of traditional society, the introduction of new technology, and the creation of a platform for future industrialization. St. Boniface’s success with “these spiritual colonies of Anglo-Saxon England on the Continent owed their creation to collaboration between the monk-missionaries and the Carolingian dynasty” (Noble & Head, 2010).

Charlemagne, the Frankish King from 768 to 814 CE, brought order and reform to the Frankish Church and kingdom. The political state of the realm was slowly forming, and “with his conquests he expanded his realm from a region smaller than France to include most of what we now know as Western Europe. He promoted Christianity, education, and learning” (McKitterick, 2008). Charlemagne, the reformer, wanted to create uniformity in religious practices and create broader avenues of communication through reading and writing. Charlemagne embraced the Catholic Church and served as a promulgator of the faith. Likewise, the growing importance of the education of the populace was addressed by the concerted efforts of the monasteries and the King.

Traditions in education and health

Monasteries were critical in solidifying Charlemagne's reign and executing his grand design for advancement of the realm. A network of "royal monasteries" established support for his reign and assisted in the expansion of new territories. No new monasteries were established by the leader during this time of expansion into Aquitaine, Bavaria, and Italy (McKitterick, 2008). Monasteries served as trainers of the administrative elite, the ruling classes. "The written word itself became an essential element of royal administration, law, education and religious expression in the course of Charlemagne's reign. Literacy was both required and rewarded. It was not only a means of social advancement and a way to participate in social and political leadership; the cultivation and possession of literate skills were badges of belonging to Charlemagne's greatly expanded Frankish world" (McKitterick, 2008).

Monasteries educated and healed the populace, in both religious and practical matters (agriculture, crafts, trades, general literacy, and medicine). They also served to bring efficiency and effectiveness to important aspects of government. "Such a political promotion of Latin and literacy in an empire...had a profound effect on the development of a Frankish cultural identity" (McKitterick, 2008). Charlemagne was a modernizer insofar as he demanded that the "monasteries and cathedrals shall provide instruction in reading for children of all classes (*scholae legentium puerorum*)" (Wallace-Hadrill, 1983).

Monasteries in certain places within the Frankish realm established uniformity and standards for governance and educational and health service delivery. "This

programme of religious reform and expansion of Christian culture was a part of an overall strategy of Carolingian rule which maintained both the plurality of political and administrative centres and communications between these centres and their surrounding regions” (Wallace-Hadrill, 1983).

In the times of St. Benedict of Aniane (745-821 CE), the Rule of St Benedict was established as *the* monastic rule in Europe. Around 780, St. Benedict of Aniane founded a monastic community at Aniane in Languedoc. This community did not develop as he had intended. In 782 CE, he founded another monastery based on the Benedictine Rule, at the same location which was his family estate. His success there gave him considerable influence. Because of his considerable influence, he was called by Charlemagne to found a model monastery at Inde in 815 CE. Charlemagne’s son, Louis the Pious, convened a congress of abbots under the leadership of Benedict of Aniane in 816 and 817 CE. This congress resulted in the Rule of St. Benedict being adoption by the monasteries throughout empire.

The deepening relationship between education, health, Benedictine monasticism, and development reinforced in Europe during the sixth through the ninth centuries CE is linked to the same phenomenon in the 21st century. Benedictine monasticism is not a singularly African, European, Asian, or Latin American phenomenon. Like other rule-driven organizations (democratic, socialist or capitalist regimes) Benedictine monasticism morphs to fit its environment. The paramount mission of the Benedictine monastery is the movement towards the perfection, individually and communally, of the “tools of the spiritual craft” (Venarde, 2011). Through daily prayer, readings, and silence community members exercise a prayer schedule of upwards of six hours per day

that strengthens their spiritual lives. As the Rule states, “The workshops where we should industriously carry all this out are the cloisters of the monastery and stability in community” (Venarde, 2011). The mission of the monastery is to achieve this higher level of spiritual attainment in a community that is sustained by its members through work, prayer, and commitment to one another and to place for life, thus the ideal of stability. The organization is one of many expressions of civil society filling the space between the individual and the government. “Civil society thus comprises all groups interacting socially, politically, and economically for the common interest of their members”(Schiavo-Campo , McFerson, 2008). Monasteries differ from other civil society organizations in two distinct ways: 1) the hierarchical organization dictated by the Rule of Benedict, and 2) its members’ commitment to remain within community for life.

The Benedictine monastic mission can also be broken down into subordinate missions: the evangelization of others outside of the cloister or through its self-supporting industry. In medieval and modern times, the cloister walls have been permeable, thus allowing for a spillover of values and material, providing poor-relief from the starting point of the inner activities of the cloister and rippling out to the communities surrounding or, in some cases, working together with the community as a result of the genesis of a monastic foundation.

It is important to address the position of the cellarer as an example of poor-relief within the monastery. This institutionalized position addresses the needs of the poor, particularly health and education, outside of the cloister. Within the cloister, this monk acts as it were in the capacity of a military quartermaster. The cellarer has all of the

mundane responsibilities of running a household, in this case, a very large household. Attending to “the sick, young children, guests, and the poor with the utmost care, knowing without doubt that he will render an account for all of them on the Day of Judgment,” (Venarde, 2011) the cellarer is an integral agent for monastic work with the poor.

Monasteries can choose to work for the benefit of the monastery or the benefit of the outside community or both. Keeping in mind the overarching missions and subordinate missions, it is also possible to define the missionary characteristic of Benedictine monasticism in terms of inner and outer missions. The inner mission of the monastery has been thoroughly explained and easily understood over the ages; however, the outer mission is less clear. How do men and women who elect to separate themselves from a larger society engage in work that will benefit those from whom they wish to be separate? It is a vexing question and the answers vary by monastery. However, there are points in history that illustrate this mutually supportive relationship between monastics and the community outside of the cloister.

Throughout the medieval era, the Church was by far the largest landowner in Europe, and its liquid assets and annual income not only far surpassed that of the wealthiest king, but probably that of all of Europe’s nobility added together (Stark, 2016). By the ninth century, the great monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland was no longer the simple religious community envisaged by the old monastic rules, but a vast complex of buildings, churches, workshops, store-houses, offices, schools, and alms-houses, housing a whole population of dependents, workers and servants like the temple cities of antiquity

(Dawson, 1932). Benefits to those outside of the cloister expanded to trade specialization, management practices, and the evolution of a cash economy.

Yet, as exemplified by the position of the cellarer, the Rule that unites the monks within the boundary of community *and* in overt and covert ways unites the monks to the outside community: attention to the poor. Some Benedictine monasteries have incorporated this outer mission of attending to the needs of the poor into their subordinate missions of work, or apostolates, and prayer. For the purpose of a political science dissertation, focus will be placed on the former rather than the latter.

A process emerged out of the Benedictine tradition of education, missionary work, and ultimately utility for the host community in the periods from the sixth through ninth centuries. In early medieval Europe the Rule of St. Benedict was a modernizing force, employed by Charlemagne and other rulers to educate, heal, conform, and govern populations in the Frankish realm and beyond. The Rule emerged as the defining expression of Christian monasticism for the Western world, and today its impact is global.

Monasticism in the Modern Age

Benedictine monasticism in Southern Tanzania originated with German missionary monks from a Benedictine monastery in Emming near Eresing and the Ammersee in the district of Landsberg, Oberbayern, Germany in the late 1890s. This particular monastery is the mother house (or founding monastery) of the St. Ottilien Congregation, otherwise known as the Missionary Benedictines. Their form of monasticism, having a distinctly European tone and modernizing effect, spawned two Benedictine foundations, Hanga and Mvimwa, in Tanzania comprised of African monks.

It is the African Benedictines who have ultimately become a modernizing influence in Southern Tanzania, primarily influenced by the modernization efforts of the German Benedictines. A German-inspired monastic tradition has found root amongst Tanzanian monks.

From Ancient European beginnings to African Reception

St. Benedict foresaw little or any of this. “His monastery was to be a ‘school of divine service’” (Lucas, 1943). Resulting from this school, much has been written on the social, economic, and intellectual contributions of the rule followed by monks devoted to a simple religious life. St. Benedict did not aspire to create some great system, and the promotion of his schools was primarily for religious purposes. “The material and other consequences were incidental and entirely unpremeditated” (Lucas, 1943).

The rise of towns in Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a new developmental stage for that part of the world at that time, interposed the creation of fortified places that were also commercial centers. Endemic rural violence drove traders and other commercially minded settlers to find protection, particularly in “towns...near castles, monasteries, and cathedrals, if these were suitably situated for business” (Lucas, 1943). This is an important aspect of how monasteries served as modernizing agents with commerce, language, custom, in medieval Europe, thus building upon the modernizing agency of monasteries in Tanzania from the late nineteenth century through to today.

Andreas Amrhein (b. 1844 CE), the founder of The Congregation of St. Ottilien, believed that his vocation lay in the foreign missions. He was profoundly impressed by the role played during the middle ages by the Benedictine Order in the spread of

Christianity and Christian culture (

http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/@texts2/1915_amrhein/00a_start.htm, retrieved March 11,

2012). It was his passion and the sacrifices of subsequent missionaries who died attempting to proselytize the indigenous peoples of East Africa that led to the establishment of two of the oldest Benedictine monasteries on the continent. Peramiho Abbey (1898 CE) and Ndanda Abbey (1906 CE) were established as a result of the determination of German missionary monks to penetrate the interior of the continent while enduring great hardship. Over several decades and through two world wars, the German missionary monks established (with the help of wealthy donors and a colonial apparatus) farmlands, groves, cathedrals, workshops, hospitals, schools, and printing presses that modernized the society and served as agents for change for the inhabitants of southern Tanzania.

Moreover, in 1964 the newly independent government led by President Julius K. Nyerere recognized the contributions of the Catholic Church (which included the monastic presence). President Nyerere lauds the efforts of those monks and others: “...in Africa—the Catholic Church has built its own schools and its own hospitals. These have been invaluable; they have provided education and medical care when there would otherwise have been none” (Nyerere, 1973). However, Nyerere saw this assistance as an interim step, a beginning toward a greater collaboration between the Catholic Church and the indigenous people whom it served. More importantly, Nyerere stressed that “the Church will make clear that it desires men’s conversion to Christianity to come from conviction, not from gratitude or from the compulsion of indebtedness” (Nyerere, 1973).

Turam states in his analysis of the secular state and religious society that “contrary to the presumed gap between the ‘modernizing states’ and ordinary people, they are no longer strangers to each other” (Turam, 2002). The author goes on to say that through “ongoing interactions between the state and pious actors, state secularism and religious society mutually inform and shape each other” (Turam, 2002). This was the case with the German Benedictine missionary monks and the ensuing African monks that responded to the sick and the poor. In turn, the African monks could choose apostolates that responded to community needs reflective of African priorities and perspectives.

In the waning days of the twentieth century sporadic efforts had been made to integrate southern Tanzanian monasteries and to make way for vocations to the priesthood for indigenous men. In 1948, several young men expressed interest in entering the Abbey of Peramiho; sadly, Archabbot Schmid refused their requests. As an alternative, he urged local candidates to form their own congregation and instructed the Benedictine Missionaries to help in this process. In 1957, Eberhard Spiess OSB, the then Bishop and Abbot of Peramiho founded Hanga Abbey. It is a community of monks, predominately Tanzanian although there are some Zambian monks. The thought behind the creation of this new monastery can be summed up in the words of Spiess: “The main idea of monastic adaptation consists of the attempt to shape the monastery and the life-rhythm of the monks in such a way that it preserves the essential elements of Benedictine spirituality while at the same time reflecting African thinking and feeling” (Seiber, 1992). Notwithstanding, the ideal proved more challenging than expected. Big European abbeys had structures and organizational models that were larger in scale than Hanga Abbey. The solid economic basis emphasizing large-scale farming, the training of artisans and

establishment of highly sophisticated workshops would be different at Hanga as opposed to Ndanda and Peramiho. By 1990, Hanga became the biggest Benedictine monastery in Tanzania (Seiber, 1992).

Hanga Abbey has organizational expertise in many handiworks including carpentry, plumbing, tailoring, masonry, and mechanical services. It includes a minor seminary from Form One to Form Four, a public secondary school for boys and girls, and an excellent kindergarten which is being promoted into an English medium primary school. While the majority are religious brothers, the number of priest in the community is increasing. The Monastery grew from a simple house, to a simple priory, to a conventual priory. In 1996 the monks there received the first abbot, the Reverend Abbot Alcuin Nyirenda. On 14 January 2004 they elected as their second Abbot the Reverend Abbot Thadei Mhagama OSB.

The Tanzanian Approach



Although it would be countercultural for the monastic communities of German and African monks in Tanzania to present anything but a unified front, the inevitable cultural differences and approaches to aiding the rural poor diverged over time. As stated previously, the developmental priorities of the Africans were different from the Germans. German monks followed a path of development, through modernization, that mirrored the industrialized north from which they came. Small- and medium-scale manufacturing that supported the colonial apparatus and generated some income for the monastery became cumbersome to the new African Benedictine monks of Tanzania.

Interesting to note that the marriage between church and colonial expansion was also occurring in the Western Hemisphere in the United States at the same time. The Indian Wars and the reservation system, vestiges of United States hostility toward Indian identity and behind the façade of “saving the man,” implicated the Society of Jesus, also known as Jesuits. The Jesuits, in the U.S Government supported and funded westward expansion (Costello and Sweeney, 2017). Therefore, to claim that the phenomenon of church-supported colonialism was of solely a global south or European flavor, is to easily ignore, or at worse, file away the significant cultural and development issues involved. The response of some Lakota people, similar to post-colonial Tanzanians, was an escape from anything related to the colonial past. The Jesuits were not alone in their mix results from serving the marginalized Native American peoples.

Another missionary effort to serve marginalized groups of people by Benedictine monks preceded the Otilien missionary monks in Africa. American Benedictines in 1874 through the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions attempted to meet the spiritual and educational needs of the many Indian tribes that had been relocated by the government in the American West (Rippinger, 1990). Other missionary outreach extended to black Americans in South as early as 1877 was met with widespread hostility on the part of the local white populations when any suggestion of uplifting freed slaves was given (Rippinger, 1990). Woefully, the history of American Benedictines in the West and South reflected more failures than successes with the Native Americans and black Americans served. The Benedictine experience in the late 19th century was not Church supported colonialism, but it broke ground on work that was unprecedented for Benedictine monastic foundations in the United States at that time.

Tanzanians attempted to build on the colonial past, including the participation of the Catholic Church, in forging a new nation. The transition and relinquishing of mission for the Germans was anything but easy for the German monks and their Tanzanian confreres and government partners.

The German monks wanted to replicate the industrial nature of their homeland, and new monks came equipped with skills to do so. African monks integrated within the German scheme of monastic work had to learn new trades and shadow existing monks who were either growing older or were given increasing responsibility due to the lack of vocations from Germany.

In an interview with the former abbot, he told me that the original plan was for Ndanda Abbey eventually to be run by African monks. This was not to be the case. The African monks who were interested in forming an African community of monks did not want to assume the responsibility for the large infrastructure: high tech workshops, hospitals, and a large-scale printing press. Instead, the African Benedictines were interested in providing for themselves at levels that were both sustainable and suitable for the rural poor in their midst. These new monks knew that their links to Germany were fragile, especially without the continued correspondence to family and friends experienced by their German counterparts. Acquiring from German donors financial support, capital equipment from the German people, or medical supplies would be limited given the African monks' limited network and weak German language skills. Therefore, the monks chose to seek the support of U.S. donors and make an amicable separation from the German monks in Tanzania, while maintaining as close relations as possible with St. Ottilien Congregation in Germany.

The German monks were modernizers in the traditional sense. With their expertise in mechanics, electrical work, masonry, carpentry, and plumbing, these monks built houses and buildings around Ndanda Abbey and Peramiho Abbey. The monks brought electricity, bottled clean spring water that is sold throughout the country, and improved health standards and literacy rates. Build, build, and build. The African monks were equally passionate and desirous of modernization for their people, but were not enamored with the ways and approaches of their German progenitors. Instead, they scaled down their modernization methods by offering smaller and fewer workshops (especially since they were not required to build furniture or maintain equipment for colonial needs, as the monasteries historically served as the supplier of manufactured goods because of the great distances from European markets) and decided to specialize in the education of the youth as their primary apostolate. The German monks found this puzzling and were skeptical that any good would come from this approach. The African monks understood that education was what they could do in a sustainable way and that by providing this service the monks were building the human capacity of the rural people.

The Emergence of African Benedictine Monasticism

New technologies, new ways of manufacturing, new ideas about industry and agriculture infused the rural populations of Ndanda and Songea as a result of the presence of German missionary monks. Towering cathedrals were built. Ever expanding hospitals labored to attend to the needs of the poor and the sick of all religious backgrounds. Yet, amidst all of the so-called progress, those agents of progress were not always received with warmth by the recipients of their largesse. Petitions were made to Abbot-Bishop Eberhard to move brothers and priests to other monasteries or places where the church

had a presence. “Allegations that some missionaries, in their dealings with Africans, showed a certain air of superiority, could not be dismissed out of hand” (Doerr, 1998). What could be done to offset the legacies of a colonial past while honoring the potential of a post-independence future?

With a sensibility to the monastic ideal in post-independence Tanzania and the pressures of society to change ownership and accountability of community organizations and civil society agents, the leadership of the abbeys, the world of bricks, beams, oil, machines and generators was not the ongoing interest of Abbot Eberhard (Doerr, 1998). The works that the missionary monks had accomplished under the impetus of expansion into the interior of Tanzania over decades grew to assume a different tone. Abbot-Bishop Eberhard believed the time had come to transfer religious and monastic ideas to the indigenous population (Doerr, 1998). Strong traditions of female monastic experience among Africans served as a foundation to transfer the idea of monasticism to Tanzanians. “Bishop Eberhard wanted this monastery to develop in line with African tradition and culture. He was strongly opposed to an African monastery becoming just an imitation of ... any other European abbey” (Doerr, 1998). Observers of the transition may wonder, is this not the purpose of development within the context of modernization theory?

The Rule of St. Benedict was written to be flexible and adaptable to different communities of monks. As it adapted in the beginnings to different cultural and language groups in Europe (particularly between 500 CE and 900 CE), so, too, did it find expression in an African context that was different, but linked spiritually and religiously to its guiding principles. Moreover, in this new expression, the Abbot-Bishop Eberhard was concerned that the new African monks should focus on monastic life and not

compromise the importance of community for the sake of outside activities. Still, there would be expectations that the church and the local population had from an African monastery. Hanga Abbey “was ready to meet these expectations, in particular by making astonishing contributions to the field of education” (Doerr, 1998). As was experienced centuries ago when Europeans gravitated toward monasteries, more and more people settled around the newly created Hanga Abbey for similar reasons. The abbey became independent in 1971 as a conventual priory with Fr. Gregory Mwangeni as the first conventual prior (Doerr, 1998).

Despite the changes from a German monastic tradition to an African monastic way of living, there remains a constant tension between monastic or community life and outside work, whether professional, pastoral or missionary. Although the tension is felt in monastic communities wherever they may be, the transition of the monastic tradition from culture to culture (and the ability to form a new foundation, or community) may create a relief for some of the tension experienced. If, indeed, African Benedictine life is its own special expression of monastic life and its response to the outside world, might the tensions be lighter at best, different and as challenging at worst?

Obtaining a balance between prayer and work, proper handling of finances, monastic enclosure, formation, and building projects will be approached differently by different communities of monks. And it is the goal of Hanga Abbey and other African Benedictine communities to incorporate a way of life that has led to progress in other parts of the world at different periods of time, applying it to their circumstances. It is not a wholesale application with anticipation of the same results in other parts of the world.

With the expression of monastic life comes an expectation of a different outcome or impact consistent with the monks who form a community.

The Rule is Passed On

The transfer of monastic traditions and vocations is centuries old. The Germany of Charlemagne received monastic traditions from England and Ireland. English monastic traditions were influenced by those of early Italian monastics. It would appear that there is a process of monastic renewal in Tanzania at this time amongst the monastics whereby Zambian monks in nearby Kitibunga, Zambia are embracing monastic life and are incorporating their own rhythm and cultural expressions and language into their communal living. What was old has become new and newer still. It is not mere imitation of one community by another; however, similarities do exist between communities: structure, religious focus, community membership.

Today the Tanzanian monasteries maintain their motto of “Ora et Labora”, the motto of all Benedictine monasteries, by engaging in social development and humanitarian services for the local communities. They are known to commit to promoting Benedictine values while staying grounded in African culture and traditions.

Research Design

This research examines the impact of monastic communities in delivering health and education services in Tanzania. Monasteries, like other civil society organizations, are often in the position to provide aid in areas where they have some comparative advantage and often modest means. The effects are often difficult to quantify because the measures generally used in development goals do not account for localized efforts as provided by monasteries. To give this research context, two regions well-funded by the

government in the northern part of the country will be compared with two regions in the south where monastic communities provide the services unfulfilled by the government. Ultimately, this dissertation will attempt to connect Western monasticism, as practiced in Southern Tanzania, to poverty alleviation efforts and development in that region of the world.

The research seeks to answer the following questions.

Question 1: How well is Tanzania doing in addressing health and educational issues?

Data on Tanzania's advancement with Millennium Development Goals and other benchmarks set by transnational institutions is available and accessible. The objective of this section is to determine how Tanzania is doing in comparison to countries within its region and perhaps with similar economic standing. This analysis will also determine strengths and weaknesses in the overall national policy toward health and educational issues.

Question 2: What are the differences in funding in the focus regions?

Tanzania is probably not unique in its distribution of government funding and support to regions within the country. There is bound to be some inequality and disproportionality in assignment of resources by province or region; this is true in many countries. This analysis will revisit national data, in comparison to other nations, and look more closely at the internal distribution of government funding. Of particular note is the difference in funding from the richer parts of the country to the poor parts of the county.

Question 3: What accounts for data indicating similar levels of health and educational attainment in the northern part of Tanzania and the southern part of Tanzania despite unequal government expenditure?

This research will explore the government spending trends for health and education in four regions. Education spending in developing countries appears to be less closely tied to GDP growth than health spending. In absolute terms, the public sector spends more, on a per capita basis, on education than health (*The MDGs after the Crisis*, Global Monitoring Report 2010, IBRD). Multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank, and bilateral institutions, such as USAID, monitor developing countries' fiscal and spending policies. It would follow that priorities for social spending could be determined by spending levels. Aside from more spending leading to better results, this research investigates the potential fallacy of this proposition. A close examination of the spending levels in regions with similar population sizes will determine if more spending by the government on education and health services leads to better outcomes.

Question 4: Are the educational and health welfare of Tanzanians impacted differently by the presence of Benedictine monasteries?

It may be discovered over the course of this research that government spending is not the determining factor between educational and health outcomes in the northern and southern regions. The historical roots of European civic community date to the eleventh century, when communal republics were established in places like Florence, Bologna, and Genoa, exactly the communities that today enjoy civic engagement and successful government (Putnam, 2000). The way in which Benedictine monasteries engage the communities in which they reside may be the differentiating factor in educational and

health service delivery. Other than the potential for proselytizing, the way in which Benedictine monasteries allocate resources, hire, attract different segments of the population, and serve as a high-quality, dependable resource may have more to do with outcomes than spending.

As a corollary to the previous question, through this examination of government spending, the first research question will determine the efficacy of government spending in all the provinces in Tanzania and its effects on select developmental goals related to educational achievement and health indicators. The second research question will investigate government funding for services that is different between regions in the wealthier northern part of Tanzania and regions in the poorer southern part of Tanzania and what explains the similar developmental outcomes related to health and education. The first and second questions lead into questions three and four. The third question attempts to show that despite the difference in government investment in health and education sectors, the data between regions show similar results. The fourth question will examine the role of Benedictine monasticism in providing services, monastic work that addresses the disparity among the four select provinces, two in the north and two in the south. The hypothesis will test how the delivery system of Benedictine monasteries in Tanzania makes poor-relief services more effective.

Background

Education

Tanzania follows a 7-4-2-3 system of education. Primary schooling takes seven years, followed by four years of secondary, two years of high school (advanced level), and three years of first degree university studies. Reports from the ministry indicate that

there are a total of 14,700 primary schools, 2,289 secondary schools, and 20 tertiary colleges (vocational training centers), and 53 teacher-training colleges (Tanzanian Ministry of Education, Statistics, National. 2006). In 2006, there were 6.7 million new enrollments in pre-primary schools, 1.3 million Standard One enrollments, and 243,359 enrollments in Form One. Teacher-training colleges enrolled a total of 13,425, an increase of more than 500% from 2005.

In 2006/07, the budgetary allocation for the education sector stood at TZS958 billion (USD\$740million) with 64.5% going into primary education, 12.5% to secondary, and the rest to teacher training (1.1%) and tertiary and higher education (21.9%) (Ministry of Education, Statistics, National. 2006. <http://www.moe.go.tz/statistics.html>).

Within the last decade the Tanzanian government has instituted a policy to increase the number of teachers through increased hiring, shorter certification periods, and more competitive salaries. This policy addressed the now historic Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 of Universal Primary School Education.

The strength of the policy was that it addressed a need for more educators to engage in teaching more students to maintain the momentum in reaching this goal. And, it also encouraged those employable adults to consider teaching as a career choice, where there are few or competing choices.

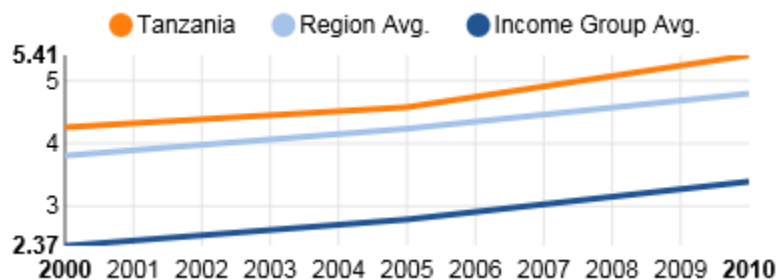
The weakness of the policy is that it is seen to compromise the quality of teachers. Teachers also may be enticed into the profession for less than pure motives. A large paycheck is very attractive, although actual teaching is less so. Mercenary motivation is a risk in this policy.

The Goal 2 Universal Primary School education was important to all of the other MDG goals because it was the basic building block for human capital development. You cannot grow economies, understand issues of equality, the environment, understand water security, increase involvement in government, or reduce extreme poverty without basic literacy and minimal education, especially in this highly globalized environment.

The educational policy also brings the MDGs of eradication of extreme poverty and gender equality into consideration. There is less of a relationship between environmental concerns (conservation, for example), reduction of child mortality, and improvement in maternal health. Combating AIDS and the development of a global partnership are far removed for the goal of Universal Primary Education, although neither can be done effectively or efficiently without minimal literacy standards established in primary schools.

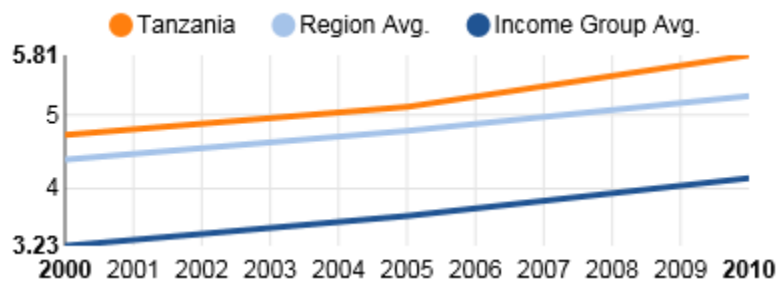
Charts 1 and 2 show the consistent increase in the average years of schooling received by those fifteen years of age and older: Chart 3 shows the allocation to education as a percentage of total government expenditure. What is most striking is that this improvement over the six-year period from 2004 to 2010 was achieved in spite of fluctuating levels of external resources and government expenditures on education -- throughout the country. Further, Primary School Net Attendance in the northern and southern regions analyzed in this research did not differ greatly, even with overall government spending in the regions differing by at least TZ\$125 billion (The Tanzania Budget Explorer, 2011). Chart 3 shows that the Republic of Tanzania is aggressive with its educational expenditures, especially in comparison to other states in the region.

Figure 2. Average years of total schooling, age 15 +, female



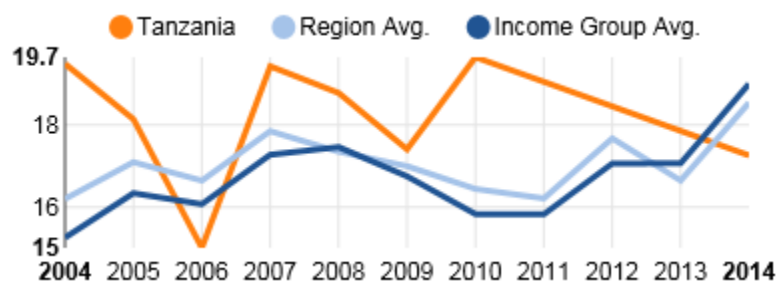
Barro-Lee: Average years of total schooling, age 15+, female USAID (2017)

Figure 3. Average years of total schooling, age 15+, total



Barro-Lee: Average years of total schooling, age 15+, total USAID (2017)

Figure 4. Expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure (percentage)



Expenditure on education as percentage of total government expenditure (percentage) USAID (2017)

Health

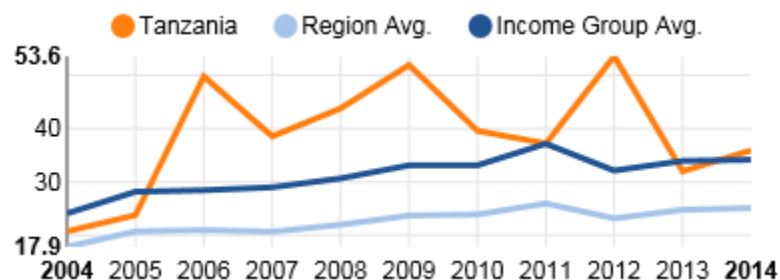
The United Republic of Tanzania also faces serious challenges to improving the health and well-being of its citizens. The Ministry of Health and its partners in government, the donor community and civil society, including the monastic presence, have responded with concerted action, in many cases achieving significant gains. The allocation to health has increased only slowly over recent years, from 7.5% in fiscal year (FY) 2000 to 8.7% in FY02, which is low in relation to projections in the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) and to the Abuja commitment of 15%. Again, despite the PRS commitments, the absolute budgetary increase year-to-year has declined from a high of 41.12% in FY02 to 5.68% in FY04 (MoH 2004). However, the low level of funding does not necessarily preclude improvement of health services and ultimately health outcomes. "Differentiated" allocation of government funds, including in the health sector, can better prioritize the needs of the poor. Cumulative cases of cholera, for example, are higher in the richer and better funded northern regions than in the southern regions (Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, and Elderly and Children, 2015). This disparity relates back to research question two. The continuing disparities in health outcomes between the poorest and the richest Tanzanians and those in rural versus urban areas needs to be addressed, along with the barriers to service experienced by the poor due to distance, formal and informal health charges, and other obstacles.

Tanzania is fortunate to have an extensive network of health facilities throughout the country, a mark of its commitment to ensure that people have access to essential health services. A portion of those services are provided by civil society organizations and NGOs. Financial obstacles in providing adequate resources for the health sector

during the 1980s and 1990s were many. Some of these – volatile world commodity prices, worsening terms of trade, debt-servicing and structural adjustment policies – stymie other developing countries as well. Sadly, what resulted in Tanzania was a dilapidated infrastructure, shortage of trained staff, de-motivated workforce, weak management systems and poor quality of care (Madman & Banger, 2004).

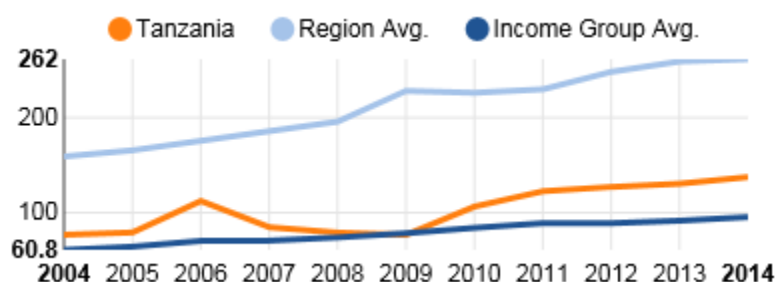
Chart 4 illustrates the volatile funding amounts received from external sources, which weakly match the decreasing government expenditures towards health in Charts 5 and 6. Meager funding partially explains the setbacks Tanzania has experienced in the health sector, but it does not explain the parity found between poorer regions in the south and richer regions in the north with regard to some health indicators, such as cholera.

Figure 5. External resources (% of total health expenditures)



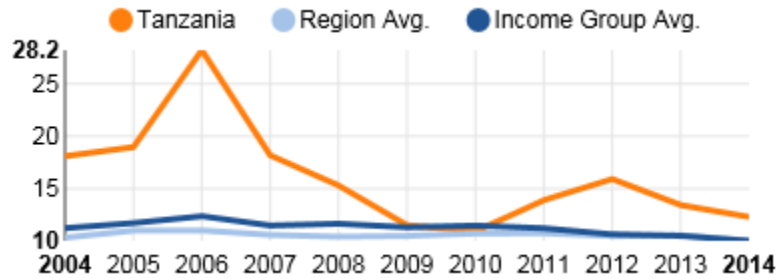
External resources (% of total health expenditures) (USAID 2017)

Figure 6. Health expenditure per capita, PPP (constant 2011 international \$)



Health expenditure per capita, PPP (constant 2011 international \$) USAID (2017)

Figure 7. Health expenditure, public (percentage of government expenditure)



This dissertation will add to the research on the historical connections and modern day development linkages to Benedictine monasticism in the United Republic of Tanzania. Africa is undergoing a quiet renaissance with monasticism as a factor in its future development, not unlike the way that Western Europe developed between the years 700 and 1300 CE. Moreover, the research may add to existing literature on practical application of civil society and governmental partnerships through the emerging phenomenon of Benedictine monasticism within a developmental context in the United Republic of Tanzania. The impact is there to be documented and recorded. It may not yield new discoveries about Benedictine monasticism in a Third World context, yet it may shine light on a little understood way of life that has endured for centuries and has directly and indirectly impacted so many lives.

Conclusion

This chapter traces the trajectory of Benedictine monasticism from Germany to Tanzania. Apostolates to the communities in which monasteries are embedded included educational and health service delivery. The cultural flexibility of the Rule of St. Benedict allows, one can daresay envisions, its adaptation to different climates, cultures, and time periods. The chapter targets the relevance of this reintroduced form from religious antiquity into modern society. Does monasticism have

a role in meeting societal needs? Developmental needs such as education and health care? What is happening in the communities in Tanzania with monasteries as opposed to those communities which do not have monastics living amongst them? Monasticism is within the purview of political science because it falls under the classification of civil society. It is now necessary to turn to the literature that establishes precedents and salient examples of integral partnerships between monastic communities and the larger society. Or, stated differently, one can investigate how monasticism folds into the larger discussion of civil society and civil society's benefits to governments charged with uplift of their populations.

Chapter 2 will then review the existing literature on monasticism, modernization theory, civil society and institutions. While the correlation between Benedictine Monasteries and the attainment of Tanzanian development goals are not common themes in the resources available, the methodology used correlates information drawn from political science and monasticism, the African Benedictine experience, and economic development studies. Chapter 3 will discuss the data and qualitative methodology used to answer the research question. Specific cases have been chosen to compare areas with a monastic presence to areas without a monastic presence. Chapter 4 approaches the research question quantitatively with regression analysis. With specific data a regression model can underscore predictability with regard to a development indicator and an independent variable, such as monastic presence. Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative methods and the findings. And, finally, Chapter 6 will conclude the research and propose future research questions and policy recommendations to be explored.

CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

“Religion drives culture; culture drives social forms; social forms drive development.” Peter Berger (Austrian-American Protestant sociologist and theologian)

This research will seek to understand the cultural applications of Benedictine monasticism and its integration into the development context of Tanzania. While the case for monastic contribution to development goals may not have been formally quantified, this research proposes a linear approach to linking monastic traditions, civil society and economic development and its theories in Tanzania. This Literature Review provides a theoretical framework for the study and introduces a series of questions which form the basis of the research.

The debate on whether religion helps or hinders economic growth has been examined by economists as far back as Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* first published in 1776. Studies on the interaction between state and church have produced varied conclusions often based on the country in question with its specific variables. Organized religion, particularly when supported by the state has provided mixed economic growth results (e.g., Islamic countries, Buddhism). Muslims entered the modern age little concerned about the state as a political reality, submissively accepting the need for government in order to avoid anarchy, but pessimistically expecting little else of any worth from the political process (Brown, 2000). In China the Religious Affairs Bureau supervises all religions. The Chinese Buddhist Association represents Buddhists, and similar organizations exist for other religions (Trainor, 2004). Fayuan monastery in Beijing and the Shanghai Buddhist Institute are state-sponsored seminaries, but education in these institutes is limited and most graduates are unable to offer

intellectual or social leadership. The state has preserved some famous monasteries and built a pagoda near Beijing to house a tooth relic of the Buddha, but such moves are primarily aimed at encouraging tourism and fostering good relations with China's Buddhist neighbors (Trainor, 2004). In the United States there are positive examples of organized religion such as the Mormon Church supported by state laws and programs.

The Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints) are participants in the U.S. economy. Historically, however, the Mormons attempted to develop their own economic system in order to achieve economic independence from non-Mormons. The Mormon economic ideal, based on the biblical notion of stewardship, was communal ownership. According to this ideal, church members would consecrate all their property and surplus earnings to the church. The church in turn would distribute to each member household that which it needed to survive. Although this ideal was never fully implemented, the values placed on communalism and cooperation and the central economic function of the church were influential in Mormon economic activities and experiments (Newell & Coke, 2000). In the initial phases of settling the Utah territory by the Mormons, the development of irrigation and agriculture were of primary importance. The early Mormon settlements in Utah of the 1860s showed Mormons developing the American west through cooperative enterprises. "Experimental industries, self-sufficient villages, cooperative work projects, stores and freight companies financed by the tithing [to] the church [made] it impossible for patronage hungry politicians and businessmen to make quick fortunes off the Mormons" (Thompson, 1993). Mormon leaders were also concerned with developing essential small-scale industries. As the U.S. economy grew and industrialized, so did the economy of Utah. At present, the majority of Mormons,

dispersed throughout the U.S., work in industry, commerce, and agrarian professions, with agriculture remaining an important though secondary source of income. This example of a productive and complementary nexus of religion and politics is mirrored in Tanzania as well.

Tanzania which has multiple religions, and economic development conditions similar to those of many other developing countries in Africa, provides another compelling example of “church and state” cooperation. While census and other economic data on the variance of economic development indicators as related to religion are somewhat difficult to determine, we are able to make some comparative analysis of regions heavily influenced by monasteries. Monasticism falls within the category of civil society organizations. Civil society is about the conditions of citizenship and the character of the good society (Foley and Hodgekinson, 2003). How civil society promotes economic development goals and how monasticism fits neatly into the literature of civil society are important fundamental questions needing explanation.

Civil Society and Economic Development

Somewhere between the family and governments is the purview of what Hegel called civil society. For advocates, civil society is visualized as a decentralized, voluntary, self-regulating system of civil associations based on democratic and moral order (Goulet, 2002). Civil society is a part of society distinct from states and markets, formed for the purposes of advancing common interests and facilitating collective action (Edwards, 2004). During the last century donors and multinational institutions were frustrated with their partnerships with government entities. In this context donors are countries or multilateral institutions offering financial assistance to support economic,

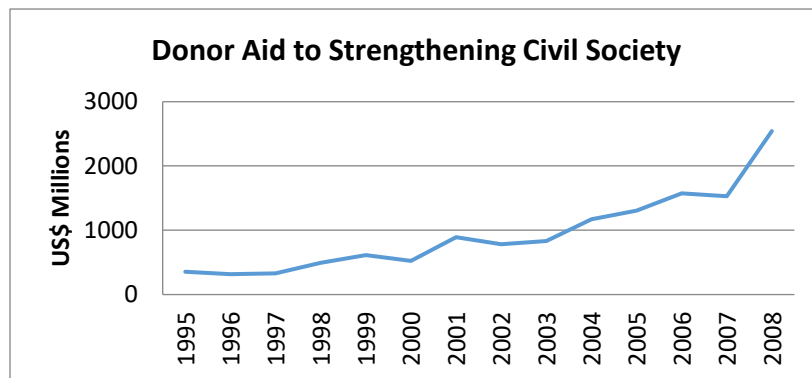
social or political development such as the UN, World Bank, Department for International Development – UK (DFID). Corruption and inefficiencies are just two of the complaints voiced by donors and aid agencies. While public sector corruption generally has a disproportionate impact on the poor, they are not the only affected parties. Businesses are discouraged from operating in a corrupt setting, reducing the overall wealth in a country. Moreover, corruption distorts government expenditures and erodes the overall trust in government. Civil society organizations thus became alternative partners for development.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the outbreak of democracy movements in the late 1980s, international donors began to engage in the process of “strengthening civil society” in developing countries. While it remains difficult to obtain the overall picture of such donor effort (Howell and Pearce, 2001), the latest OECD/DAC statistics show how the efforts have constantly increased over the past decade, from US\$ 355 million in 1995 to US\$ 2542 million in 2008.

“Civil society” is a controversial concept that has been long discussed in various disciplines of social science. With regard to international development, civil society is sometimes understood from a structural perspective, as a space between the state and the family as previously stated; on other occasions, it is defined by the functions it performs. A combination of both perspectives is also recognized among civil society scholars: “An intermediate associational realm between state and family populated by organizations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of the society to protect or extend their interests or values” (White, 1994) (Ottaway & Carothers, 2000).

For donors of international development, civil society has mostly been understood as having positive effects for development – that it is worth strengthening - both as a means to development and as an end in itself. The way donors understand civil society as something positive for development depends on how they understand civil society. Three models explore distinct approaches to strengthening civil society.

Figure 8. Donor Aid to Civil Society



Source: OECD/DAC Last Accessed September 9, 2010

The three different views of civil society are associational, normative, and public sphere. (Edwards, 2004) In an associational view, civil society is a sphere where associational lives (interconnectedness, reciprocal relationships) are formed, a framework for engaging with others, a neo-Tocquevillian school. Adherents of this school follow Tocqueville's view that "to love democracy well, one must love it moderately"—that is, one must refuse to follow those "overzealous friends" of the democratic idea who would take it to its radical, self-destructive conclusion (Lacroix, 2008). For those taking a normative perspective, civil society is a kind of society that is supposed to generate solutions, where problems are resolved peacefully, a Hegelian view which can be summed up by the dictum that "the rational alone is real," meaning that all reality is

capable of being expressed in rational categories (Hegel, 1821). Finally, a public sphere perspective would understand civil society engaged in public or active citizenry that is tasked with checking state's power, a Gramscian view of civil society. Cultural hegemony describes how the state and ruling capitalist class – the bourgeoisie – use cultural institutions to maintain power in capitalist societies. The bourgeoisie, in Gramsci's view, develops a hegemonic culture using ideology rather than violence, economic force, or coercion (Gramsci, 1971).

As a means for development, civil society contributes to development via different channels. Taking an associational view, civil society is an arena where people make civic engagements. According to Putnam's social capital argument, such civic engagement, through norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement, lead to an increase of social capital that contributes to enhanced institutional performance, i.e., responsive, effective, and democratic government, resulting in economic development. Taking a normative perspective, strong and vibrant civil society leads to democracy (Diamond, 1991) (Carothers, 1999). Democracy evolves as development evolves. Taking a public sphere perspective, civil society leads to an alternative governmental structure to the state, whereby people have a place and a means to contest, or seek a remedy to a grievance.

Civil societal organizations play an important role in development in Tanzania, especially one agent: Benedictine monasteries. Over the past decades, civil society organizations have become the acceptable partner for multinational donor organizations which have lost faith in autocratic, less industrialized countries. In Tanzania, the civil society sector experienced rapid growth through German and British missionary activity

and through labor movements in the first half of the 20th century (Kiondo, Ndumbaro, Sokolowski, and Salamon, 2004). Civil society includes informal and formal organizations, religious and secular organizations, organizations with paid staff and those staffed entirely by volunteers (Salamon, Sokolowski, and List, 2004).

Between 1974 and 1988 real wages fell by 83% in Tanzania and the state was unable to provide even the minimum of social services (Lange, Wallevik, and Kiodo, 2000). The cause of this precipitous decline was a combination of higher oil prices in 1973-74 and 1979-80, high interest rates in 1980-82, declining export prices and volume associated with global recession in 1981-82, problems of domestic economic management, and an adverse psychological shift in the credit markets (Cline, 1995).

Achievements in the health and education sector were reversed and more people responded to this lapse by becoming self-employed and organizing themselves in welfare organizations. During the 1980s the donor community actively distributing aid to Tanzania adopted the international trend of by-passing inefficient and corrupt state bureaucracies in order to channel their aid through international and locally based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Lange, Wallevik, and Kiodo, 2000). Multilateral donors such as the United Nations Development Programme, The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund, and United States Agency for International Development contributed billions, with little return. The 2007 Global Household Survey revealed devastating news; people living under the poverty line in Tanzania had actually only exceeded the subsistence level by very little compared to the amount of aid the country had received (\$2.3 trillion over five decades) and the efforts made to reduce poverty (Helleiner, 1995). NGOs were believed to be more efficient, less corrupt, and operating

more closely with the poor. Benedictine monasteries in Tanzania were just one of the many NGOs, or better classified, faith-based organizations (FBOs) receiving funding from donors convinced this channel was most effective in addressing the needs of the poor.

The provision and maintenance of welfare for the poor has been one of the most important roles of FBOs in historical and modern times. Ecclesiastical parish councils (prior to Henry VIII, and the subsequent Act of Supremacy that made him supreme head of the Church of England) were the precursors of the British parish councils that were the basic institution of local government until more recent times (Olowe, 2002). The dissolution of the monasteries in the late 1530s was one of the most revolutionary events in English history. At that time, there were nearly 900 religious houses, or what are also called monasteries or convents, in England. Of these established communities of men and women there were around 260 for monks living the Rule of St. Benedict. In total there was a network of 12,000 people: 4,000 monks, 3,000 canons, 3,000 friars and 2,000 nuns. If the adult male population was 500,000, that meant that one adult man in fifty was in a religious order (Bernard, 2011). Some would even wish to view FBOs as holistic developers, focusing on both body and spirit. For many years spirituality has been sidestepped by international donors generally. Without increased attention to spirituality, development efforts will fail (Ver Beek, 2000). Spirituality is integral to development decision making. The idea that “progress” is a purely material goal is alien to most people of the world (World Faith Development Dialogue, 2001). Therefore, “development” processes which concentrate on material ends alone will inevitably fail and will be resisted by the intended stakeholders who are aware of their innermost

spiritual being. A new building, a newly constructed highway, or the imposition of democracy does not always result in sustained development or progress. People's best interests reside in their inner selves, despite what outsiders, experts, and external forces may dictate. In lieu of the spiritual component of FBOs, specifically Benedictine monasticism, the perception of the medieval monastery seems congruent with modern day FBOs insofar as their access and availability to the poor. FBOs have appealed to the inner and material needs of those poor they wish to serve.

History and Political Science in relation to Monasticism

O'Conner states in *Monasticism and Civilization* "as the story of the monks' service to civilization is unfolded, it must be constantly borne in mind that that service was not the primary purpose for which monastic life was instituted; nor did it probably in any degree enter into the original plans of the great founders and interpreters of monasticism." (1921) Historically in Europe, the impact of monasticism is still present from past endeavors of "clearing of primeval forests, the reclamation of fetid swamps, the cultivation of vast deserts, the preservation of classic literature, the diffusion of the blessings of education, the liberating of serfs." (O'Conner, 1921) Richly endowed, and sometimes exploited, by lay rulers, the great Benedictine abbeys came to hold a prominent position in the social landscape of Europe as landowning corporations, ecclesiastical patrons, and centers of learning for many centuries in the medieval West (Lawrence, 1989). But, how can history serve the political scientist, and vice versa?

'History' as the study of past events, with focus on a particular time period or a particular subject or place threaded through time, serves this research well. 'Political science', on the other hand, is the study of governments, civil society, and human

organization. The complementary nature of the two disciplines helps us to better understand the current and past influences monasticism has had on political structures and economic development. Further, prototypes of present day governments and civil societies existed in past times as well. Let us turn to the important similarities between the two disciplines and how they inform the research, before further delving into monasticism as a phenomenon.

The two disciplines, history and political science, are similar insofar as they incorporate imaginative acts within their disciplines (Gaddis, 1997). As a science, ‘political science’ relies upon extrapolation of facts, scientists such as Darwin, Einstein, and Wegener being exemplars of this process (Gaddis, 1997). Likewise, historians use matching mental reconstructions of experiences relying upon archival “fossils” left behind (Gaddis, 1997). Another similarity shared by the two involves the dependence upon nonreplicable events to establish meaning or support a connection between human desires and events. Although ‘political science’ leans towards the replicable sciences, it cannot escape the nonreplicable character of the subjects it explores (Gaddis, 1997). Benedictine monasticism, as will be explored, constitutes a replicable event; one that has historic roots originating fifteen centuries ago.

Dissimilarities between history and political science manifest in the application of the scientific method. Popper says that scientific statements are associated with unambiguous results, and that testability is an important attribute to scientific work because any claim made can be tested by others (Ricci, 1977). ‘Political science’ seeks to establish the relationship between simple mechanisms that drive human events (Gaddis, 1997). ‘History’ acknowledges patterns but stops short at acknowledging them

as useful beyond what is already known (Gaddis, 1997). Reliance upon independent and dependent variables to demonstrate a determining antecedent detracts from the goals of ‘history’ (Gaddis, 1997). Historians attribute to specific events causes, but assert the interdependence of these causes, thus eroding the scientific gains of ‘political science.’ This, however, does not discount drawing similarities between different eras of human endeavors applying common principals. For example, a political scientist may research topics in democracy drawing upon ancient Greek civilization juxtaposed to modern democracies in Europe or North America; same pattern, different time period. It is instructive to exploit replicable events within political science and history research, yet how do the political scientist and the historian handle nonreplicable phenomena in their research.

Because ‘history’ and ‘political science’ incorporate nonreplicable phenomena in their studies, it does not preclude the ability to approach nonreplicable phenomena scientifically. A merging of similar methodology demonstrates the complementary ways in which the two operate. For example, “process tracing” is a method for extracting generalities from a unique sequence of events (Gaddis, 1997). This method also supports the construction of narratives that historians use to explain past events. Moreover, for ‘political science’ historical narratives may remove the temptation to see what one seeks to see (Gaddis, 1997), thus allowing for more “open societies” to stimulate further discussion and evolving consensus (Ricci, 1997).

Monastic life of the twelfth-century mirrors the lives of modern day monastics (Brooke, 1999). Professor Derek Beales’ publication of his Birkbeck Lectures emphasizes the continuation of the monastic experience over recent centuries; his

analysis is one of comparing architectural structures and form, whereas this research focuses solely on the application of the Rule of St. Benedict in different geographic locations, namely Tanzania.

Influences of the Early Catholic Church

The Catholic Church's control over the minds and imaginations of Christendom during the Middle Ages allowed for special dispensations for those who had sinned. The concept of sin, and ultimately eternal salvation, motivated many peoples within the Church and under governments who were supportive of the Church. The goal of heaven, or eternal life, could be blocked to individuals in consequence of their sins and transgressions. In order to remove these obstacles, the Church devised several religious practices to help sinners remove the impediments of sin, and successfully gain admittance into heaven. The Sale of Indulgences that Martin Luther so much decried is but one example of the practices to remove sin. The clergy were authorized by the Catholic Church to absolve penitents from the guilt of their sins and from punishment in purgatory or hell. Yet, the penitents were still obligated to make amends for their actions on earth in the present. The substitution of monetary fines for punishment of a crime was a well-established practice in secular European courts in the Middle Ages, so its application to a religious context is not farfetched. Monasteries were institutions that espoused salvation to the faithful, a way of life to avoid the pitfalls of sins through the withdrawal to a cloistered existence. The ancient European monastic communities operated in a swirl of conflict and war: not unlike their present day progeny in Africa, although the concept of state and nation is perhaps more clearly defined than of old. The African experience with monasticism is no less rich.

It is important to be clear that although this research draws heavily on the Benedictine form of Western monasticism practiced in the Catholic Church, the roots of this form of monasticism, are found in the early African Christian Church. Benedict's Rule is successor to the Rules of Pachomius in Egypt and Augustine in Hippo (modern day Algeria) written between 347 and 427 AD (Kardong, 2010). Therefore, what is referred to as African Benedictine monasticism further along in this research should not eclipse the truth that various forms of Christian monasticism had, and continue to have, long and deep roots on the continent of Africa.

Monastic Identity

Definitions of identity have evolved over centuries, at least beginning with Renaissance Humanism (Gregory, et al, 2009). Early definitions incorporate a "self-sustaining entity, possessed of the capacity of conscious reason and whose internal 'centre' was seen as essentially fixed – continuous or 'identical' with itself across time" (Gregory, et al, 2009). In a modern world, identity is linked oftentimes to an affiliation with a culture. And, as we expand upon our understanding of culture, we explore other ways of affiliation to culture, thus increasingly greater variations of identity. In the next paragraphs, I will examine two stalwarts of identity and then conclude with a broader definition which will inform the research on African monasticism.

The central elements of any culture are language and religion (Huntington, 1996). Language is an important symbol for establishing a distinct culture. Furthermore, individuals can choose to use a specific language, thus affording them the opportunity to merge with that culture and ultimately giving individuals the choice to identify with that culture. African Benedictine monasticism, particularly in Tanzania, establishes its

identity through the use of the Swahili language. Also, the country is more or less half Muslim and half Christian. There is an Anglican Church of Tanzania, as well as a Muslim Council of Tanzania, which has demanded in recent years a reduction in the gap between them and their better-educated Christian compatriots (Mhina, 2007). Identity as a self-awareness based on the combination of cultural proximity to the individual and choice on the part of the individual, both of which can change over time. Identity has evolved in modern times into how individuals might become and how they will be represented (Gregory, et al, 2009). African Benedictines have incorporated the European Rule of St. Benedict and Catholicism while maintaining their language and cultural expressions.

German Monastic Identity

“German and Swiss missionary Benedictines of St. Ottilien developed two great abbeys (Peramiho and Ndanda) in southern Tanganyika” during the colonial period in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Hastings, 1979). German colonization was rampant in East Africa and the German Benedictine presence in some ways, unfortunately was an instrument of advancement for empire building, in other words, globalization.

Globalization is a process involving worldwide linkages, joint action, and the formation and maintenance of transnational institutions, made possible by recent advances in electronic communications and high-speed international travel (Strenski, 2004). What is absent in this thorough explanation of globalization is the nature of the linkages and joint actions. Globalization also entails the transfer of culture, language and religion. This last transfer, religion, has a distinctive character, although religion itself is a debated phenomenon among political scientists. Religious globalization, as is true with

economic globalization, speaks to the expansion and increased interconnectedness of peoples and regions in the world based on religion.

Catholicism and early European colonialism reflect religious globalization. In establishing an imperial role in the New World, the Spaniards employed Catholic traditions of scholastic philosophy and natural law theology to adjudicate issues such as the status of the native folks as human beings (Strenski, 2004). As would be expected, if indigenous populations are not seen as human, then access to lands and resources by Europeans would be unrestrained and relentless. Woefully, the early and pervasive diffusion of Catholicism into Africa, Latin America, and Asia are associated with suppression, dominion, and imposition of a European order. It was not a harmonious process. And, its negative vestiges are still with modern societies in these former colonies today.

The establishment of mosques, monasteries, synagogues, religious institutions of higher education, hospitals, charities, and cathedrals throughout the world reflects religious globalization. It is not merely the propagation of faith, but a concerted effort on the part of established world religions to advance or support new offshoots, thus connecting the faithful of many belief systems to one another in more palpable ways.

As an early example of colonial inroads into Eastern Africa and religious globalization, “the first Catholic mission station in Ugogo was founded in the southwest at Bihawana in 1909 by a Benedictine named Father Seiler.” (Spear et al, 1999) In the Tanzanian experience the application of the Rule of St. Benedict, as expressed in monastic communities in the country, was introduced through colonialism, a mechanism

unknown to the creator of the Rule centuries beforehand. How does monasticism as practiced by colonizers impact the communities that they dominate?

In Sullivan's essay 'What was Carolingian monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism,' he describes monastic fervor as not being overtly hostile to everything secular (Murray et al, 1998), but uncovers a common theme that Carolingian monks consciously embraced the world outside their walls (Blanks et al, 1998).

Weinrich, in his chapter Western Monasticism in Independent Africa, looks at monastic communities in Uganda, Rwanda, and Malawi to understand how these communities have handled two problems of cultural adaptation and religious poverty (which means, inner detachment, not destitution) (Fashole-Luke et al, 1978). He also looks at the evolution of independent Africa: almost all monasteries have been founded by men and women coming from Europe or America, and have brought with them their own ideas of what constitutes monastic living, thus offering to young Africans a form of Christian dedication mirroring European and American values (Fashole-Luke et al, 1978).

Notwithstanding, monasticism in its various forms has been involved in the life of those extramural to monastic cloisters as well as within monastic cloisters. Herbert Workman gives a condemning conclusion regarding the failure of the closed system (an elusive goal to religious men and women, as well as to engineers who design complex mechanics), "the whole history of Monasticism teaches us that man is not built in water-tight compartments, with bulkheads and automatic doors whereby we may cut off the waters from one part, indifferent whether the rest is under flood. No experiment has been more tried than this, under a variety of conditions, and in a variety of ages" (Workman, 1913). Although Workman is speaking about the individual man and the attempt to

separate the mind and body from the soul through spiritual development and seclusion, a comparison may be drawn from his statement about how monasteries as communities operate within larger communities. Can the two, monastic communities and the larger encompassing community, be truly separate, unattached, and independent and grow? The questions posed in this section and the data collected suggest ways of thinking about these issues:

- If monastic communities are thriving within Tanzania, then are the communities in which they reside also thriving? What defines success?
- If the Tanzanian Government is resigned not to provide basic services to all its citizens, then will the need and dependence on Benedictine monasticism (and other FBO's) continue to grow?
- If Benedictine monasticism were not present in many Tanzanian communities, then would an engine of development be absent from rural communities?
- If the Tanzanian Government's public-private partnership policies were not as supportive, then would the effectiveness of Benedictine monasticism within Tanzania be diminished?
- If policies on religious freedom were reversed, then would Benedictine monasticism thrive in Tanzania?
- If the use of the Rule of St. Benedict did not exhibit flexibility, then would the African expression of Benedictine Monasticism not reflect the spirit of community it espouses?

- If Europeans are not present in Benedictine monastic communities in Tanzania, then will the Benedictine monastic communities fail to grow in size and number in the country?
- If the monasteries were not able to subsidize their services to the community, would their influence remain strong?
- If Tanzanian Benedictine monastic communities are allowed freedom of religious expression through their interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict, then will communities experience better services, such as health care and education?

The research within this paper will attempt to address these questions as fully as possible. There may not be hard and fast answers, given the absence of data. What this research can address is the type and scale of economic development that has been witnessed within the past decade. Additionally, this research seeks to examine the abovementioned questions through the lens of development theory; and, in doing so, reinterpret Benedictine apostolates, and their intended outcomes, undertaken by Tanzanian monasteries.

Development Theories

Tanzania depends primarily upon the agricultural sector to promote economic development within the country. Much of the population active within the economy are in the agricultural sector. Tanzanians grow food for markets and to feed their families. Other areas of economic activity include mineral resources, precious metals, and timber. Fisheries and meat production provide additional support to the agricultural sector of the economy. Despite this potential for growth and human activity, Tanzania remains near the bottom of the list of developed countries in the world. Why is this?

There are many theories that explain why some countries develop and others do not. Some theories are static and are based on historical events, such as defunct colonial systems, and international financial systems that predated some countries' existence, and rich-country responses to the global disparity in development. The name assigned to these theories is dependency. Other theories are based on changing global conditions and international processes, namely trade and globalization. The assigned name for this set of theories is neoclassicist. Still, others believe that the processes underway within the country itself do not allow for development, in the case of economic development traps as espoused by the economist Jeffrey D. Sachs.

The first theory to be explored is dependency. The Brazilian economist Theotonio Dos Santo explains why some countries do not develop. Dos Santos believes that rich countries engage in an active process to thwart the development of poor countries (Todaro, 2000). Todaro describes the process of "underdevelopment as an externally induced phenomenon" (2000). What exactly is being done to cause this phenomenon? The False-paradigm model explains this phenomenon by the examples of bad advice given to developing nations by developed nations (Todaro, 2000). A recent example of this type of underdevelopment is the example of Lesotho, a landlocked country in southern Africa. Colin Ferguson talks about the standardized "development" packages that may have looked promising on paper, but did little in terms of achieving established goals or objectives (Ferguson, 1994). Indeed, expert advice has failed Lesotho and other countries; millions of dollars have been spent and directed towards projects that supposedly would help the country development, with little to show for the investment or the effort.

Other writers have echoed the position that advice to some poor countries by rich countries has not served these poor countries well. The Washington Consensus comprised of international and national aid agencies (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the United States Treasury) has handed out advice that at best helped developing countries in the short term (Stiglitz, 2007). One of the two great tragedies that Easterly illuminates is that failed aid schemes and the \$2.3 trillion spent on helping countries to develop have not raised countries out of their poor economic conditions. (Easterly, 2007)

Rounding out this chorus of bad projects and bad advice is the offense against the poor countries that strive for development, but do not receive assistance or adequate assistance. Isbister speaks to the promise not kept to poor countries by rich country leaders, after World War II, to provide assistance (2006). The driving force behind the increase of foreign aid to developing countries was the cold war competition between the United States and its allies and the then Soviet Union (Isbister, 2006).

Although bad advice has contributed to the lack of development in some countries, it is difficult to ignore that some countries are still living through their dark pasts. Colonialism was a pervasive system within former colonies that are now independent countries. This system imposed dependencies upon populations to serve the colonizers as producers of raw materials or services through labor. As colonial systems have been dismantled, it has taken time for countries to replace these systems with new ones that work within an international context as well as a domestic context. The former Belgian Congo, former Zaire, and present day Democratic Republic of Congo is a country that illustrates the difficulty of recovering from a colonial past. When the

country gained independence in 1960 only seventeen Congolese had a university degree (Easterly, 2007). Thus it proved difficult to govern a newly independent country.

Moreover, the creation of country, or nation, was decided by the colonizers without regard to tribal or ethnic affinities or property rights (Easterly 2007). By giving territory to one group of people who believed they already possessed it, by splitting ethnic groups, and by combining historical enemies in the case of some countries, colonizers created a future political situation in developing countries that was close to untenable (Easterly 2007).

Yet, it is important that developing countries take responsibility for their development. It is easy, even comfortable, to blame rich countries for what poor developing countries are experiencing. The very same author who blamed the rich countries for their failure to engage poor countries or the reneging on promises of financial assistance, also says that newly independent states with newly elected officials, seemingly freed from colonial bondage, did not do the necessary things within their countries to create development (Isbister 2006). Incompetent leadership, corruption, and young emerging democratic political systems did not serve countries who wanted development to achieve it. Dependency theory complements neoclassical theorists' arguments concerning the indelible hand print of the West and former colonial powers on the global south.

The neoclassical counterrevolution argues that "underdevelopment results from poor resource allocation due to incorrect pricing policies and too much state intervention by overly active Third World governments" (Todaro, 2000). So, according to the neoclassists, it is not helpful to call to mind the predatory practices of the First World

without also looking at “the heavy hand of the state and the corruption, inefficiency, and lack of economic incentives that permeate the economies of developing nations” (Todaro, 2000). Development solutions may reside with the poor themselves. Economic mechanisms such as property titling would enable the poor in the country to leverage their hidden wealth (Woodruff, 2001).

Sachs gives us yet another way to answer the question why some countries develop and others do not. His response is that for poor countries with large rural populations there exists a poverty trap, whereby a spiral of rising population and stagnant or falling food production per person keeps poor countries poor (Sachs, 2005). He expounds upon other types of traps such as a fiscal trap and a demographic trap. The former exposes the government’s inability to maintain infrastructure on which economic growth depends (Sachs, 2005). Additionally, high debt burden and corrupt practices may inhibit the government from borrowing more or raising taxes from the population (Sachs, 2005). The latter reflects fertility rates that Sachs connects with growing impoverishment that tends to lead to impoverishment in following generations (Sachs, 2005). The three traps woefully illustrate a developing country’s inability to sustain surges in population growth.

Five Prominent Theories

Five prominent economic development theories will be discussed: linear-stages, structural-change, dependency, neoclassical, and new growth. Beginning after World War II, the theories have evolved from a straightforward linear view of economic development to understanding power relationships to the benefits of free markets to the internal workings of developing countries undergoing economic development. Most

importantly, in the evolution of economic development theories, there was a move away from a narrowly economic definition (whereas economic growth in per capita GDP was the measure) to a broader understanding incorporating other measures such as life expectancy, health, and education, and other investments in people.

Linear

A linear approach to economic development, and the theory that will be used when exploring monasticism's role in developmental goals, was put forth by the economic historian Walt W. Rostow who argued in the early 1960s that development occurs in steps which all developed nations must take (Todaro, 2000). In *The Stages of Economic Growth* (W.W. Rostow: Cambridge University Press, 1960) countries, using the metaphor of the takeoff of an airplane, must pass through five stages: the traditional society, the preconditions for takeoff, the takeoff, the drive to maturity, the age of mass consumption (Isbister, 2006). The stages, represent a transitional catalytic change, due to science or an outside influence, that drives greater productivity, higher income, a shift from agricultural to industrial production. This process supports political institutions that can direct investment towards production and thus engage global markets. Another name for this approach is modernization. The final stage is a full integration in the international trade arena with a diverse, or at least balanced, production in agricultural and industrial goods. A complementary theory to Rostow's was the Harrod-Domar Growth model which asserts that net additions to capital stock of a country (buildings, equipment, and materials) will bring about a corresponding increase in the country's Gross National Product. (Todaro, 2000) Yet, as neat as theorists wished the stages to be,

almost like building blocks, it is now understood that they are not as discreet as projected (or remembered historically).

Structural-Change

Stages of development did not capture the whole picture. Stages of development do not happen in a vacuum. It came to be understood over time that developing nations were part of larger international systems which heavily influenced internal decisions and outcomes. (Todaro, 2000). Structural-change models attempted to explain how the internal movement from traditional subsistence agriculture to modern, urban industrialization could transform developing nation economies (Todaro, 2000). The Structural-Change model concentrates on the mechanism by which underdeveloped economies transform their domestic economic structures from a heavy emphasis on traditional subsistence agriculture to an urbanized and industrially diverse manufacturing and service economy. There are similarities between this approach and Rostow's first stage of development; however, the similarity ends there, as the Lewis two-sector model reallocates surplus rural labor to fuel an emerging industrial sector in a self-sustaining manner (Todaro, 2000). Yet, structural changes alone do not ensure that economic development will occur.

Dependency

Dependency theory claims that today's rich countries have impoverished the third world and that capitalism still holds back its progress (Isbister, 2006). Dependency theory claims that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former (Cardoso & Faletto, 1979). The inequality of the international capitalist system of the twentieth

century created a power relationship between poor countries and rich countries.

European empires controlled all of what is now referred to as the global south: Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Sachs, 2005). A core-and-periphery relationship was established (Todaro, 2000). This relationship forced third world producers of raw materials such as rubber, cocoa, or bananas to be dependent on developed, rich nations for income. The dependency continues with industrialized nations supplying the global south with processed goods (like bicycles, computers, washing machines, fabric) while jealously holding proprietary and technology rights for the means of production of the finished goods.

Another aspect of dependency theory includes the false-paradigm model, whereby faulty or inappropriate advice is offered by international experts (Todaro, 2000).

Ferguson has explored this particular model in Lesotho. In the 1980s and 1990s seventy-two international agencies and non- and quasi-governmental organizations... have also been active in promoting a range of “development” programs (Ferguson, 1994).

Consultants created plans but failed to reach objectives (Ferguson, 1994). The World Bank's private arm, the International Finance Corporation, has found that only half of its Africa projects succeed, just a few failed projects: Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline to the Atlantic Ocean; Lake Turkana fish processing plant, Kenya; Lesotho Highlands water project; and Roll Back Malaria, across Africa

(http://www.nbcnews.com/id/22380448/ns/world_news-africa/t/examples-failed-aid-funded-projects-africa). Finally, dualism finds its way into dependency theory,

demonstrating the counter-productive effects of an increasing gap between poor and rich, both internationally and intra-nationally. A case in point: within a generation after the

Cultural Revolution some Chinese youth are enjoying technological and economic advances comparable to those youths in the developed world centers of London, Paris, or New York (Sachs, 2005). Meanwhile, many Chinese youths outside of urban centers and in rural areas have living standards in line with other inhabitants of the third world.

Neoclassical

Neoclassical economic development asserts that underdevelopment is a function of poor pricing and over-active developing country governments (Todaro, 2000). According to this theory, free markets, analysis of choices made by public and elected officials, and coordination of anticipated market failures are critical to the economic advancement of developing countries. Furthermore, the Solow neoclassical growth model builds upon the Harrod-Domar model by introducing technology into its equation for growth (Todaro, 2000). Other neoclassical economists stress the importance of three factors of output growth: increases in labor quantity and quality (through population growth and education), increases in capital (through savings and investments) and improvements in technology (Solow, 1956).

In practice, where Neoclassical economists applied the theory to developing countries, policies of liberalization, stabilization and privatization were adopted as central elements of the national development agenda. Development professionals and their organizations provided foreign trade, private international investments, and foreign aid to developing countries with the expectation of increased economic growth. The results of the growth rates per capita diverged among countries (Azariadis and Drazen 1990). “Several African countries focusing on these issues achieved an average growth rate of only 0.5 % per year. With weak and inadequate legal and regulatory framework, not to

mention the different institutional, cultural, and historical contexts of the developing countries, free market in these countries fails to stimulate economic development” (World Bank 2000).

By definition, the Neoclassical growth theory proposes that a steady economic growth rate is achievable with adequate levels of the of three driving forces: labor, capital and technology. The underlying premise is that by varying the amounts of labor and capital in the production function, a country can attain equilibrium. Technological change/advances as the third major influence on an economy is essential for there to be any growth. While these factors are necessary for achieving a temporary equilibrium and growth they are not the prescriptions for long term equilibrium and growth.

Neoclassical growth theory starts by outlining the three factors necessary for a growing economy, and it proposes the idea that a temporary equilibrium and growth can be achieved with the right allocation mix of the three factors. However, Neoclassical growth theory makes it clear that temporary equilibrium is different from long-term equilibrium, which is achieved without any of the two factors needed for short-term growth (Magune, 2013).

New Growth Theory

And lastly, new growth theory examines growth that comes as a result of internal governing systems rather than external forces outside of the system (Todaro, 2000). The Endogenous growth or the new growth theory developed as a response to the failed experiences of developing-country policies adhering to neoclassical theories. The principle difference between this theory and others previously mentioned is that the new growth model notes that technological change has not been equal nor has it been

exogenously transmitted in most developing countries, whereas the Solow model (neoclassical economic development) views technological change as an exogenous factor (World Bank 2000). Economic growth according to this model results from increasing returns to the use of knowledge rather than labor and capital. It considers that knowledge is different from other economic goods due to its unquantifiable possible outcomes being able to be repurposed without additional outlay. Thus, investment in education is a factor of sustained growth and should be supported by policy intervention to influence growth in the long term (Meier 2000).

Romer supports the new growth theory based upon three premises: technological change lies at the heart of economic growth, technological change arises in large part because of intentional actions taken by people who respond to market incentives, and instructions for working with raw materials are inherently different from other economic goods. (Romer, 1990). What is evident here (that was absent in earlier theories, like Rostow's) is the emphasis on human capital, as well as economic growth.

The linear and structural approaches are most similar inasmuch as inputs feed into the outputs of growth in a predictable way. In the case for the former approach, after step two comes step three is the likely conclusion. With the latter approach, the more of an input (such as rural labor), developing countries can anticipate greater industrial output. Contrastingly, dependency is not linear, but circular. It explores the relationships between rich and poor countries and the complex interactions that keep poor countries poor and rich countries rich. Aside from identifying the presence of dependency, a weakness of the theory is that it does not provide for a solution to sustain development (Todaro, 2000). Neoclassical theory, like dependency theory, recognizes the influence of

external forces, markets, financial systems, trade, but seeks to engage developing countries more fully in these systems as a means for development. Moreover, new growth theory takes the best of the structural theory and borrows liberally from the public-choice theory (a social science that studies the decision-making behaviors of voters, politicians and government officials from the perspective of economic theory) and the market-friendly approach to construe a theory that is simultaneously autonomous in its approach towards internal development and interactive within the international system.

All five theories can explain economic development; yet, none of the five theories alone can explain the whole picture of economic development. For this research, modernization theory is employed to give a theoretical framework for understanding the process of economic development in the United Republic of Tanzania.

Modernization Theory

Development has evolved as a practice from the post-World War II era until the present day. The apparatus of the Marshall Plan served the strategic, political and humanitarian aims as an organization of development in Europe and the global south for the hegemonic United States and the ensuing Cold War maneuvering around the globe. The Kennedy Administration furthered U.S. influence and advanced humanitarian goals through an emerging organization, U.S.A.I.D., and a nascent organization the Peace Corps. It was during this transition from post-war operator to Cold War participant that modernization theory was established. Political philosophy had always concerned itself with questions of human behavior, behaviorists tried to replace philosophy with science. As Rapley describes this shift, the emerging development practitioners moved away from

a sociological perspective on society to an attempt to observe, compare, and classify human behavior as it was (2002).

The premise of Modernization Theory is that development has already occurred in the industrialized west, and the global south can become developed by following a similar path. Rapley continues his elaboration of Modernization Theory that certain conditions were identified that gave rise to development in the First World. What remained to be done for those undeveloped regions of the world is to “specify where and why these [conditions] were lacking in the third world.” (Rapely, 2002) Therefore, a simplistic solution to under development was that the developed countries show the undeveloped how to do it. Sometimes it was more than just knowing how to do it. Developing countries in the eyes of the developed countries needed capital or values such as the profit motive (Rapely, 2002).

Yet it was the application of scientific method to the study of human behavior that had significant shortcomings. The scientific inquiry was closer to “nineteenth-century positivism than to contemporary scientific theory.” (Rapely, 2002) The market economy, as promoted by modernization theorists, was not the magic or silver bullet that would promulgate development in the third world. The radical left, as Rapley refers to those in the academic circles opposed to the horse and cart of the market economy and the interventionist state, exposed the injustices resulting from this configuration. Moreover, no amount of adaptation or fixing could change the injustices that arose from the application of this theory. It has been proposed that modernization produces psychological stress among Third World people (So, 1990). However, further study by Inkeles suggests that modernization does not necessarily produce psychological stress

among Third World people; modern men exhibit no more stress than do nonmodern men (Inkeles, 1975).

While acknowledging that at the core modernization is industrialization, Szirmai recognizes the need for a “measure of congruence between economic developments and their social and cultural environment.” (Szirmai, 2005) Henceforth, modernization theory was at odds with culture of the traditional society and the ‘becoming more like the West’ slowed the momentum of its wider acceptance as a theory in development. One shortcoming of modernization theory was that it paid “insufficient attention to differences in patterns of modes of economic development in different historical periods.” (Szirmai, 2005) So, after this bright survey of different theories of economic development, the investigation can now focus on African Benedictine Monasticism.

The Emergence of African Benedictine Monasticism

The Benedictine presence began in 1887 in Tanzania. A gifted young man Br. Andreas, had initial talks with his Abbot, Maurus Wolter, about ideals of missionary activity. The young monk was received with a lukewarm, if not cold, reception. After making an application to the powerful German chancellor Otto von Bismarck asking permission to open a Benedictine monastery to train German missionaries for German colonies, Br. Andreas received an official letter from the foreign office in Berlin stating that Bismarck “would be pleased to give his full support to any mission activities... in the German colonies.” (Hertlein, 2008). Bismarck’s intentions were less than pure. He desired more German missionaries in German colonies to offset the preponderance of French missionaries. His was a cultural and civilizing mission based on German ideas, and less to do with Christian evangelization.

The Holy Ghost Fathers were outraged at the encroachment of their territory in Northern Tanzania by the upstart Br. Andreas and protested to Rome. Bismarck was nonplussed about the Holy Ghost Fathers; he did not want the very powerful French Cardinal Charles Lavigerie to have any influence in the German colony (Hertlein, 2008). The Holy Ghost Fathers proposed to the Propaganda Fide in Rome to cut off the southern part of their vast area and give it over to the Benedictines under the condition that they would not encroach into any of their existing mission stations in the north. Rome accepted this offer, and it is precisely because of this colonial chess game that we find the Benedictines in the southernmost part of the state.

New technologies, new ways of manufacturing, new ideas about industry and agriculture permeated the rural populations of Ndanda and Songea as a result of the presence of German missionary monks. Towering cathedrals were built. Ever-expanding hospitals battled valiantly to attend to the increasing needs of the poor and the sick of all religious backgrounds. Yet, amidst all of the so-called progress, those agents of progress were not always received with warmth by the recipients of their largess. Petitions were made to Abbot-Bishop Eberhard to move brothers and priests to other monasteries or places where the church had a presence in the early 20th century. “Allegations that some missionaries, in their dealings with Africans, showed a certain air of superiority, could not be dismissed out of hand (Doerr, 1998). What could be done to offset the legacies of a colonial past while honoring the potential of a post-independence future? Perhaps the answer was in the question: reversing the tide of cultural globalization.

“Cultural globalization” is a term that combines observable human phenomena and a process of dissemination. Culture is the values, ideals, and the higher intellectual

artistic, moral qualities of a society (Huntington, 1996). Globalization is the movement of ideas, attitudes, and values between nations. The term draws on the idea and image of the globe as a symbol of connectedness and unity (Gregory et al, 2009). Therefore, the union of the two conveys the ease and alacrity with which the greater sharing and interconnectedness and interaction among diverse people occurs. Of course, this burst of activity is spurred by the greater integration of technology into the daily lives of people around the world: television broadcasts, the internet, air travel, and cinema. The German monks were hard pressed and at a loss how to help their African hosts without dominating them or suppressing their indigenous culture.

The German monastics understood the need (especially for their own survival and relevancy) in the region for a mixed approach to development, incorporating into rural culture as to provide the desired economic uplift. Henceforth, Modernization Theory was at odds with culture of the traditional society and in ‘becoming more like the West’ slowed the momentum of its wider acceptance as a theory in development. One shortcoming of Modernization Theory was that it paid “insufficient attention to differences in patterns of modes of economic development in different historical periods” (Szirmai, 2005). Out of the different perspectives on modernization, an overarching theme can be applied to the southern Tanzanian experience with Benedictine monasticism. The modernizing development economists saw modernization as mimicking the global north; and, the German monks shared the view as evidenced by their highly industrialized approach. However, Tanzanian modernizing monks saw modernization differently, and adapted the ancient institutions understanding of work “which can employ the bulk of the community, at once sufficiently permanent and

general to suit a variety of temperaments and capable of being added to or reduced from time to time as need arises” (Knowles, 1962). The Tanzanian monks modernized their own ancient institution to achieve development goals consistent with their cultural and social environment.

Monasticism and Modernization

The Rule of St. Benedict was written to be flexible and adaptable to different communities of monks. As it spread in the beginning to different cultural groups in Europe (particularly between 500 AD to 900 AD), so, too, did it find expression in an African context that was different, but linked spiritually and religiously to the guiding principles of the Rule. Moreover, in this new expression, the Abbot-Bishop Eberhard was concerned that the new African monks should focus on monastic life and not compromise the importance of community for the sake of outside activities. Still, the local population held expectations of the church, especially an African monastery. Hanga Abbey “was ready to meet these expectations, in particular by making astonishing contributions to the field of education” (Doerr, 1998). As was experienced centuries earlier when Europeans gravitated towards monasteries, more and more people settled around the newly created Hanga Abbey for similar reasons. Employment, technology (in the forms of harnessed water and electricity), education and health service were but a few of the reasons that attracted people to the abbey. As is the Benedictine tradition, the abbey became independent (being no longer dependent on the mother foundation, in this case, Peramiho Abbey) in 1971 as a conventual priory with Fr. Gregory Mwangeni as the first conventual prior (Doerr, 1998).

Despite the changes from a German monastic tradition, to an African monastic way of living (different foods eaten and grown by the monks, closer contact with surrounding villagers, different liturgical practices), there remains a constant tension between monastic or community life and outside work, whether professional, pastoral or missionary. Although the tension is not one unheard of in monastic communities wherever they may be, the transition of the monastic tradition from culture to culture may create a relief for some of the tension experienced. If, indeed, African Benedictine life is its own special expression of monastic life and its response to the outside world, might the tensions be lighter at best, different and as challenging at worst?

Obtaining a balance between prayer and work, proper handling of finances, enclosure, formation, and building projects will be approached differently by different communities of monks. And, it is the goal of Hanga Abbey and other African Benedictine communities to apply a way of life that has led to progress in other parts of the world to their own conditions. It is not a wholesale application with the anticipation of the same results as in other parts of the world. With the expression of monastic life comes an expectation of a different outcome or impact consistent with the monks who form community.

As a comparison, in the history of the United States it is not surprising to discover that Benedictine monks came to the then newly independent country with education as part of their apostolic work. Immigration and evangelization of German people to the United States worked hand in glove. The first American monastery was founded by Boniface Wimmer (1809-1887) who left Bavaria and founded St Vincent Abbey in

Latrobe, Pennsylvania (1846). The Benedictine mission to German immigrants naturally gravitated to education.

Just like Benedictine missionaries in a growing and developing United States, concurrently in the early part of the 20th century German monastic presence influenced southeastern Tanzania with regards to literacy. But the missionary presence is slightly different from a monastic presence. Missionaries may come and go and generally exhibit a more transient life; monks, on the other hand, practice the vow of stability (*stabilitas loci*) which means, in part (for there are exceptions), never leaving the walls of the monastery. Moreover, these advancements were leveraged by the newly independent government in the middle 1960s to establish state-run schools that afforded access to education for a wider breadth of society. It was believed that church-run schools had the potential to discriminate and educate only Catholics. The state took over the administration of Catholic schools and built new schools to offset the perceptions of indoctrination.

Although there is a great deal of historical information that establishes the impact of monasteries on education, this literature too often downplays that the monasteries were also a part of a larger colonial structure that served European trade and imperialism in the region now known as Tanzania. The understanding of the missionary presence in Africa, and particularly in Tanzania, is well documented. From the earliest writings of Henry Morgan Stanley, one of the Herald's overseas correspondents in 1869, who was instructed to find the Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone, the developed world has been mesmerized by the exotic south and the meeting of the traditional Africans with the modern Europeans. It has not always been a pleasant encounter. Resistance to the

penetration of Europeans into the interior of the continent was not an infrequent occurrence. It is in the context of modernization through the activities of missionaries and colonial agents that monasticism must distinguish itself as a different type of modernizing institution. It helps this research to establish a working definition, at least a base understanding, of what is meant by institutions and how they are studied and analyzed.

Institutions and their role in promoting socio-political agendas

Comparative Political Development is the study of political development involving civil society, institutions, and nation states. Defining Comparative Politics is difficult (Kohli et al, 1995); nonetheless, comparing political development across countries and time may advance our understanding of what works developmentally in which regions of the world at which times. Comparative Politics (a term convertible with Comparative Political Development) seeks to apply general theories where possible and draws upon actual world events. Further, the field of study also may draw upon historical events to explain actions and behaviors by institutions and states. The ideal is to “pursue theoretically informed empirical political analysis, focusing on one or more countries, through diverse conceptual lenses and utilizing a variety of data, contemporary or historical, qualitative or quantitative” (Kohli, et al, 1995).

Comparative Political Development progressed because of perceived deficiencies in the classification of political systems (Almond, 1955). Moreover, the scope of comparative government now encompasses pressing global issues, which serve as the impetus for the discipline to expand and incorporate a higher degree of rigor (Almond, 1955). Older classifications such as particularistic, regional, political and

structural/functional revealed limitations that needed to be addressed due to an increasing appetite for knowledge about governments beyond the traditional West. This demand for reliable knowledge fueled by broadening American interests motivated Almond to propose a revised way of classifying political systems which incorporated sociological and anthropological concepts for unit of analysis purposes (Almond, 1955).

Comparative Political Development allows political scientists to expand samples sizes and case numbers when examining issues such as democracy, economic impact, corruption, and urbanization. From this aggregate data, political scientists apply quantitative or qualitative methodology, or both, to two or more countries (for this research, regions) to support theories or make connections that transcend state and national boundaries, thus expanding our knowledge of political systems.

How do we study it?

We study Comparative Political Development employing various methodological approaches. To begin, Comparative Political Development can enlist either qualitative or quantitative or a mix of the two methodologies when analyzing countries. Although few systematic guidelines for carrying out “mixed methods” research exist (Lieberman, 2005), political scientists continue to press forward with new concepts and methodological approaches.

Almond supports Comparative Political Development methodologies by determining their unit of analysis. Almond suggests that reducing political activity to the most elementary, observable sociological unit is essential to distinguishing and understanding different political systems (Almond, 1955). According to Weber-Parsons, observable political activity is of people and institutions as each plays a political role as

the basis of a political system. With a general understanding of the types of methodology used and the unit of analysis, the activity within the unit of analysis requires closer examination.

The flexibility and the breadth of Comparative Politics may give the traditional researcher a sense of unease. Even champions of the discipline recognize the need for a modicum of structure and standardization when conducting comparative political research. “It is not that, methodologically speaking, “anything goes;” some research designs and methods for gathering and analyzing evidence are not fruitful” (Boix and Stokes, 2009). Not unlike meteorologists’ struggle with nomenclature, such as the difference between “scattered” and “isolated” showers, the term “comparative” was ambiguous for comparative politics researchers. Comparative Politics frequently entailed not making comparisons but studying the politics of one foreign country. It was surprising to early practitioners that by the 1980s samples sizes would dramatically increase (Boix and Stokes, 2009).

What specific structures or institutions are explored?

When researching states as political scientists, institutions found within the unit of analysis of states have a high possibility of reflecting political activity. The institutional and ideological foundations of the modern nation state are central concerns of comparative politics (Boix and Stokes, 2009). Here, too, is a burgeoning literature without a unified body of thought (Hall and Taylor, 1996). The distinction between a political institution and a social force is unclear (Huntington, 1968). With complex societies, no one force can govern without political institutions that are removed from original social forces (Huntington, 1968). Where there is homogeneity in social

groupings, there is no need for distinct political institutions; conversely, the absence of social harmony makes political institutions impossible (Huntington, 1968). Therefore, the different lens in which to view institutions can support theories about political activity across states and nations.

The study of institutions corroborates Comparative Political Development research because it sheds light on the relationship between behavior and institutions and how they originate and change (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Institutions fit into three categories: historical, rational-choice, and sociological (Hall and Taylor, 1996). The first defines the institution as a social arbiter between competing social groups and emphasizes the linkages between institutions and ideas or beliefs. The second classification of institutions borrows heavily from economics insofar as institutions' roles in minimizing transaction, production or influence costs. The third type speaks to institutions as transmitters of culture, inefficient as organizations. All three types of institutions are helpful for understanding the unit of analysis in Comparative Political Development, and the dialogue between the different schools of thought is moving closer together rather than farther apart (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Nonetheless, it is the institutions that yield insights into collective behavior of people within states and nations.

The importance of structures and institutions

Structures and institutions are the building blocks for states and nations. The state has institutional possibilities that they can use to help structure and strengthen their autonomy (Nordinger, 1988). As stated earlier, institutions can be seen as distinct entities from social groupings. Yet, a delicate balance exists to transform institutional strength into state creation. "Officials use such institutionalization of the mitigation of societal

constraints to remain effectively ‘distanced’ from society, able to operate internally as they wish but also able to generate ‘support’ from society” (Nordinger, 1988).

Comparative Political Development, understanding the similarities and differences between institutions or recognizing the absence or presence of specific institutions, can help form understanding of political systems within states and nations.

Institutions may also be used as a measure of the complexity of the state or nation. Simple political communities may have an ethnic, religious, or occupational base and do not require highly developed political institution (Huntington, 1966). Whereas, within a heterogeneous society, the aforementioned political community becomes increasingly dependent upon the workings of a political institution. Structures and institutions help political scientists, doing comparative research or not, understand relative complexity, origins of institutions, and functions of groups within a state or nation. Institutions and structures are clues to understanding political systems, but they are not dependable marks of a particular type of political system.

For example, democracy is not a single particular set of institutions (Schmitter, 1991). Democracy will manifest itself through socioeconomic conditions and the structures and policies within the state’s institutions (Schmitter, 1991). So, an overreliance in identifying democracies in states and nations in terms of familiar or traditional institutions may compromise a study in comparative political development. Understanding the importance of structures and institutions along with awareness of the variety of the types of structures and institutions fortifies the importance of structures and institutions as expressions of political activity.

How is rigor maintained in the analysis?

States actively construct globalization and use it as soft geo-politics and to acquire greater power over, and autonomy from, their national economies and societies (Gritsch, 2005). Larger development organizations like USAID, The World Bank, or other multinational development organizations may look to fund, support, or influence local non-government agencies in countries where there are politically strategic or programmatic interests. With globalization, there are fewer and fewer stones that are unturned. These large, and wealthy, organizations can leverage money, resources, and expertise in the face of struggling non-governmental organizations, looking for any leg up to help their constituents. But, these resources come with a cost, and generally that cost reflects receptiveness to changes in management or mission or both. Non-governmental organizations engage in a veritable Faustian pact sometimes, a cost of economic globalization. Notwithstanding, increased exposure in the world does have its benefits for non-governmental organizations.

An example of the benefits of economic globalization to non-governmental organizations is Doctors Without Borders. For Doctors Without Borders, the ability to respond quickly to medical humanitarian emergencies is crucial to saving lives.

“Unrestricted funds allow us to allocate our resources most efficiently and where the needs are greatest.”

(https://donate.doctorswithoutborders.org/truenorth/alt/onetime_search.cfm?source=AZD1500A1D58&utm_source=bing&utm_medium=ppc&utm_campaign=PPC_NonBrand&utm_term=NGO) Originally French founded, and now an internationally and federally funded organization, Doctors Without Borders can be accessed on the internet by

potential donors, potential employees, and researchers. Its reach is increased and expanded by the influences of economic globalization, through marketing and individual philanthropy. This has helped the organization to respond to the ever increasing threats of health issues facing its constituents throughout the globe. Ultimately, institutions within civil society can contribute to economic development. But, what exactly is meant by economic development?

Economic Development

Education translates to economic growth. When the United Nations adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) for 2015, universal primary school education was included within the eight goals. This move signals the importance of education and its integration into the other eight goals as an economic development factor. In the next paragraph I will examine the connections between education and economic development. Next, I will explore the connection between increased economic development due to education and its impact on economic growth. And lastly, the arguments against the connection between education and economic growth will be discussed briefly.

Education and Economic Development

We have defined economic development in terms other than the traditionally understood capacity of a national economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in its GNP at a rate above 5% (Todaro, 2000). This benchmark for development may be stringent, whereas some economists may be satisfied with any increase in GNP as economic development. Increasing the availability of basic life-sustaining goods, raising levels of living standards, and expanding choices are the three objectives that economic development strives to secure for a means to a better life (Todaro, 2000). Between 2000

and 2011, the number of children out of school declined by almost half—from 102 million to 57 million. (United Nations, “The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013,” <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/report-2013/mdg-report-2013-english.pdf>). In terms of increased choices, gender equality, maternal health, infant mortality and HIV/AIDS prevention, education is critical in achieving goals for these important quality-of-life indicators. Even within a developed country like the United States, lack of high school education accounts for the income inequality effect and is a powerful predictor of mortality variation among US states (Muller, 2002). In addition to the inverse relationship between education and fertility, educating women has been shown to contribute to the break in the cycle of poor child-health (Todaro, 2000). Better health, greater preparedness to obtain skilled employment opportunities, greater access for females in the labor force all contribute to emphasize the linkages between economic development and economic growth. If we return to the argument made by most economists that it is the human resources of a nation that determine the pace of its economic development (Todaro, 2000), then by all accounts, education can, and in most cases does, improve the human resources of less developed countries, and that in turn contribute to the economic growth of those countries. Increased literacy through education can improve the lives of those who need to read instructions for medicines for their families, for rural based production, for students to continue on to higher levels of education.

Economists have linked the impact of education with economic growth, influencing governments of developing countries to improve lackluster growth by implementing policies that raise educational attainment (Glewwe, 2002). There is

precedent for this connection in the historical study of school construction in Indonesia between 1973 and 1978 which affected an increase in education levels and wages in the country (Duflo, 2001). An educated and literate population in a developing country can attract direct foreign investment and capital. In India, the privatization of the telecommunications equipment sector, the liberalization of exports for the electronics and computer industries, the introduction of more flexible production processes in automotive and machine tool industries required a skilled workforce (Todaro, 2000). Sadly, human resource development has been instrumental in achieving economic growth in India, but income inequalities still persist, as is the subject of the ongoing discussions between Columbia and Harvard professors Jagdish Bhagwati and Amartya Sen (Krista Mahr, “The Clash Between Two Famous Indian Economists Echoes Larger Battle” Time, July 31, 2013, <http://world.time.com/2013/07/31/indias-economic-gurus-clash-over-strategy-but-the-state-needs-fixing-too/>)

On the other hand, the phenomena of brain drain and high unemployment weaken the argument that education translates to economic growth. Some ambitious citizens of developing countries would rather use their education to further themselves in developed-country contexts as doctors, engineers, and scientists. This exodus of educated citizens does not translate to economic development. In this country, the South Side of Chicago in the 1970s illustrates how educational opportunities may have helped individuals, but did little to raise the standards of the community, due to a similar exodus of educated and skilled people (Lemann, 1992). “If you build it, they will come,” does not always apply to training and education. The “they” I refer to are employers and companies. In Kenya only 10% to 15% of job seekers find jobs in the modern industrial sector (Todaro, 2000).

Lastly, some argue that the types, quality, and quantity of educational programs may not yield even modest improvements in economic development and, by default, economic growth (Kremer, 2009).

Arguments can be made about not only the thrust of education but the delivery of education as an impediment to economic development. Taking these arguments into consideration, improved education and health are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for economic development. This research seeks to understand how institutions in civil society advance economic development, particularly self-marginalized communities like Benedictine monasteries in Tanzania. It is useful to explore an example of a self-marginalized community in the United States that impacts its surrounding community's economic development.

An Example—the Amish

The Amish people are descendants of the Mennonites, a religious group established in 1525, in Zurich, Switzerland (Dana, 2007). Many beliefs separated the Mennonites from other Christian groups; in particular, the Mennonites felt that a religion should be comprised of voluntary believers and that no religion should be imposed upon children at birth. Because of their opposition to infant baptism, the group was also known as Anabaptists. Subsequent persecution in Europe led the Anabaptists to pursue religious freedom in North America, the New World. The Anabaptists were also encouraged to establish settlements in the New World by William Penn, a Quaker, who promised them religious freedom.

Jakob Amman, a Swiss Anabaptist, in 1693 felt that the Mennonites who came to the New World were straying from a strictly religious background and proceeded to

establish a more conservative and disciplined branch, namely the Amish (Dana, 2007). The Amish do not accept innovative technology without considering the effects on their lifestyle, which values asceticism, frugality, a strong work ethic, and perhaps most importantly, humility and the family unit. As Wesner observes regarding the family unit, “Amish tend to have large families, averaging around seven children per married couple” (Wesner, 2010).

‘The barefoot Amish’, as Kraybill refers to them in the Foreword to Wesner’s book, *Success made Simple: An Inside Look at Why Amish Businesses Thrive*, “walked right out of cow stables to assume the ownership of microenterprises in dozens of communities” (Wesner, 2010). There are approximately nine thousand Amish owned and operated enterprises in North America (Wesner, 2010). Most of these enterprises are not modest operations; some have a dozen or more employees with annual sales above \$5 million. Moreover, some Amish businesses have contracts with popular businesses such as Kmart and Ralph Lauren (Wesner, 2010).

As they lead a purposefully separate life, the Amish keep their finances separate from the conventional banking segment, up to a certain extent. Checks and credit cards are used for business transactions and payments for goods and services. The Amish refrain from participating in government programs, including subsidies (Bhanoo, 2010). It has been noted that members neither pay Social Security nor receive its benefits in the form of payments in old age (Bhanoo, 2010). Wesner notes that Amish refuse participation “in government-sponsored retirement programs, having negotiated an exemption from the Social Security system, neither paying in nor receiving payouts” (Wesner, 2010). The Amish prefer that the elderly receive help from the community as

an expression of appreciation for their dignity in the later years in life and to keep the aged in the community's daily routine and thinking (Wesner, 2010).

The Amish are just one of the long-lived Anabaptist traditions in the United States. It is important to mention the smaller and lesser known Hutterites, the "other" Anabaptists. The Hutterites are a communal people, living throughout the prairies of northwestern North America. On average, fifteen families live and work in the typical Hutterite colony, where for sustenance they farm, raise livestock and produce manufactured goods. Emerging as a distinct culture and religious group in the early 16th century, this non-resistant Anabaptist sect endured persecution unto death at the hands of the state and church in medieval Europe (<http://www.hutterites.org/>).

In microeconomics the standard assumption is that more choices lead to a higher quality of life because people with choices can select courses of action that maximize their well-being (Kahneman, 2003). Income correlates with the types of choices, and the greater number of choices an individual has translates to a higher well-being (Kahneman, 2003). Although this relationship may have no bearing on the choices that the Amish make, especially as it relates to technology, it is yet to be shown that the Amish industry plays a factor in motivating other, non-Amish, country residents to raise income, which ultimately leads to more choices. The Amish and their well-being may be viewed as their growing resilience to refuse choices provided by the ever-increasing technological community in which they live.

The Amish have been traditionally recognized as small farmers and artisans. This perception, by the outside population, is changing because the Amish are adapting to land constraints. In Lancaster County, PA, for example, many young Amish are breaking with

convention, and are moving away to other areas in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois in search of farmland. Other young Amish are exercising non-conventional thought and are making the choice to remain in Lancaster County but work in non-farm activities (Dana, 2007). Examples include expanding their home heater businesses and selling Amish food is sold in the Reading Terminal in downtown Philadelphia, PA.

The Amish indeed impact per capita income in Pennsylvania counties (Christie-Searles, 2011). As with ancient monastic communities the Amish further demonstrate that a community can be truly separate, unattached, and still grow together. Per capita income as a measure does not capture wealth, nor the extent of non-economic activity within an informal economy. Although the Amish “have self-imposed a status of social marginality upon themselves” (Wesner, 2010), they are participating in the overall economy (Wesner, 2010); the effect of that participation remains to be captured fully in economic terms.

The literature shows the interplay between religion and economics, in particular the cultural aspects of development economics. Culture does have an impact on economic development and religion is just one expression of culture. With an established basis in the literature for justifying the connection between the two, in the next chapter what impact and by whom will be more thoroughly discussed. This study is not concerned with any particular culture in Tanzania. It is Benedictine Monasticism that drives this study and how it influences, improves, or diminishes economic development indicators, generally the responsibility of the state, in four regions of the country.

The central question that this Literature Review addresses is how to qualify and quantify the contribution of Benedictine monasteries to the economic development of Tanzania. To marry this civil societal institution to the concept and effort of economic development, the connection is linked by what has been documented through socio-political analysis, the legacy of the Catholic Church through Benedictine monasticism, economic development theory and other socio-political analysis.

The storyline of Tanzania's economic development is similar to many other African countries from surviving colonization to embracing globalization. The presence and influence of the Catholic Church and monasticism is intertwined in that history with positive and sometimes not so positive effects. The modern day monasticism, while still maintaining its traditional roots, is recognized in African tradition and culture. This partially explains how these structures have become a mainstay in the communities where they are located. In a further step the research helps identify the monastic community as a true civil society player in Tanzania especially vital in rural areas. Monasteries' role in civil society as a provider of welfare relief and other basic provisions is thus compared to other institutional entities in the same roles. What is it about monasteries' ethos and modus operandi that account for its levels of services provided?

The review of economic development theories shows that there is no cookie cutter approach which assures positive results across all seemingly similar countries. It is instead a multidimensional process which requires specifically designed policies and strategies. For the purposes of this research Modernization Theory provides a framework to understand economic development in Tanzania because of its recognition of the socio – cultural aspects of economic development. This economic theory mirrors the path and

development of the monasteries in Tanzania as well as the intent of the Tanzanian government upon becoming independent in the 1960's.

Education as an important component for measuring economic development can be documented in Tanzania as can the levels of delivery by monasteries in the communities where they are located. If economists can make a convincing case that a more educated populace spurs economic development through better health, more skilled workforce and eventual increased FDI, countries are better able to implement policies and strategies that work towards this goal.

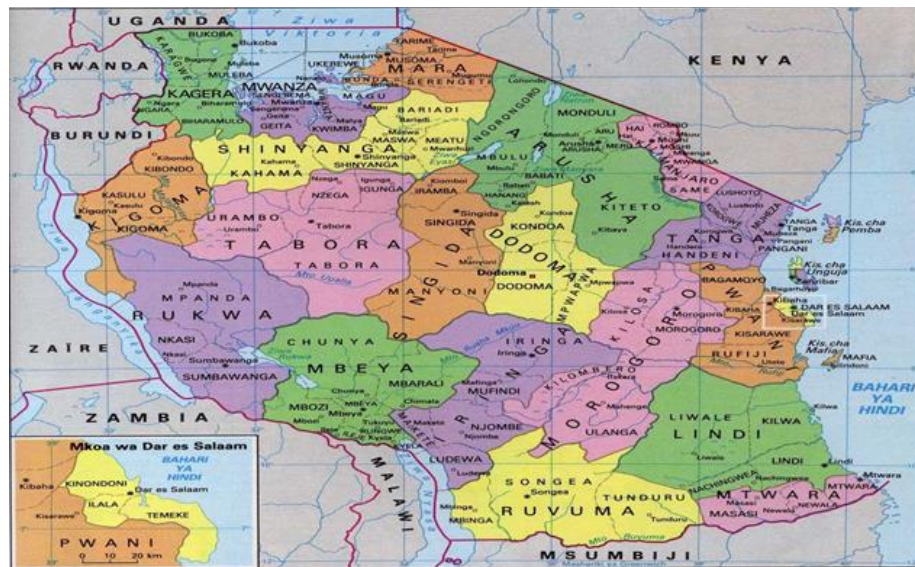
This research seeks to elevate/validate a lesser claimed contribution of Benedictine monasteries to the attainment of specified development goals which could further inform government policy and a broader donor community. This examination certainly offers valuable lessons to the development community.

Going forward from this base the research gives meat to the bones on the true impact of monasteries in the Methodology and Research Methods chapter. To do this, comparisons are drawn between education and health factors in two government funded regions in contrast to areas served by Benedictine monasteries

CHAPTER III - Research Methods and Quantitative Analysis

This research examines the impact of monastic communities in delivering health and education services in Tanzania. Monasteries, like other civil society institutions, are often in the position to provide “aid” in areas where they are closer to populations in need although often with modest means. The impact is often difficult to quantify because the measures generally used in development goals do not account for localized efforts as provided by monasteries. To give this research context, two regions well-funded by the government in the northern part of the country will be compared with two regions in the south where monastic communities provide the services unfulfilled by the government. Ultimately, this dissertation will attempt to connect western monasticism, as practiced in Southern Tanzania, to poverty alleviation efforts and development in that region of the world.

Figure 9. Regions of Tanzania



I have made three trips to Tanzania during 2011, 2013, and 2014 spending more than two months in the southern regions of the country and Zanzibar. Having visited all

four Benedictine monasteries in Tanzania, the oldest European established monasteries on the continent, I have been a participant observer of the lifestyle of the monastics as well as the lay villagers, both Christian and Muslim, who encompass the monastic enclosure: the monastic compound including the church, cells, and workshops. My journey to understand better the role of monastic life in the scheme of development has spanned more than 25 years. It has been a gradual learning process that has led me to understand many connections between civil society and development, history and the present day, and religion and politics.

Missionary service fervor is not dissimilar to the professionalism exhibited by international aid organizations and nongovernmental organizations in its desire to meet the needs of the poor. Motivations are complex and varied from evangelization to political and strategic agendas to economic paradigm promulgation (socialism, capitalism, and communism). It appears that these efforts at economic development, the improvement of people's situations in life, depended upon the movement of one small set of people close to another larger set of people, generally the population in need. The small set of people constitute the aid workers, and the larger group of people is usually the local recipients of aid. The movement of aid workers next to, or within, a larger group of local recipients of aid differentiated by some attribute (lower socioeconomic position, a different culture or language, lower technology) experienced a steady flow over the course of decades. Aid workers consisted of new missionaries, new professionals, and new volunteers. Although these diverse organizations of aid workers purveying development aid with different agendas were alternately in competition with one another, helped one another, and impeded one another's progress, one thing that

remained a constant was that the players changed on a regular basis. People might make a career out of missionary work or development work, but it did not automatically commit them for life to one place.

Thus through my own years of experience as a development professional my fascination with monasticism and development began. Monasticism, in particular Benedictine monasticism, is predicated on the commitment for life to community and place. This is usually referred to as the vow of stability. Intuitively, I could make a connection and draw conclusions between different actors within a development context with different outcomes over the span of years. An analogy: in the United States, each Congress has its own personality, its customized agenda (e.g., Tea Party, Contract with America), and its group dynamics that are altered every two years. This creates, at times, a highly disjointed political process, sometimes resulting in haphazard outputs leading to unpredictable outcomes. Applying this model to development, similar changes within a developmental context could create an equally disjointed process for community growth and progress. Ultimately, the analysis of the process of development through a monastic lens may further the understanding of monastic impact in general, and address the research hypothesis in particular.

Hypothesis 1: The presence of Benedictine monasteries in Southeastern Tanzania brings to parity health indicators with better funded regions in Northern Tanzania.

Hypothesis 2: The presence of Benedictine monasteries in Southeastern Tanzania brings to parity educational indicators with better funded regions in Northern Tanzania.

The analysis will use mixed methods for the purpose of testing the hypothesis and for explaining the research questions: qualitative (case studies) and quantitative (regression analysis).

Qualitative Analysis

Using Tilly's matrix of comparisons to establish case studies for the various regions, as long as we remain clear and consistent, there is a choice of a great variety of populations, categories, networks: firms, regions, social classes, kin groups, churches, trading nets, international alliances, to name only a few (Tilly, 1984). I will be comparing richly endowed regions without monastic cloisters in Tanzania to poor regions with monastic cloisters. The goal is to compare big structures (Tanzanian Government, Benedictine monasteries) and large processes (education and health delivery). This research will look at the examples in regions and seek to universalize or find variation in the regions based on monastic presence (Tilly, 1984). Within the cases, particularly in the southern poorer regions, close examination will be paid to the function and impact of monastic communities. It is necessary to briefly explain what such examination may look like and how it will fit into the analysis of comparison of regions, namely, those southern regions with monastic communities and those northern regions without monastic communities.

Comparisons are made constantly, between people, material things, and ideas. Yet to gain knowledge from the comparisons, he who is comparing must have some hypothesis or design in mind when choosing what, who, and how many to compare. Selection bias is commonly understood as occurring when some form of selection process

in either the design of the study or the real-world phenomena under investigation results in systematic error (Collier and Mahoney, 1993).

There are several things to be aware of and steps to take when selecting cases or data for Comparative Political Development research. This is one way in which rigor is maintained in the comparative political development analysis. Understanding that selection bias is indeed a common and potentially serious error, and qualitative researchers in international and comparative studies need to understand the consequences of selecting extreme cases of the outcome they wish to explain (Collier and Mahoney, 1993). Selection bias may raise distinctive issues in case studies and Small-N comparative analyses that focus on extreme cases with the dependent variable. Assessment of previous research findings, while paying special attention to comparisons with larger sets of cases that exhibit greater variance on the dependent variable, is a valuable way of exploring the role of selection bias in an initial study (Collier and Mahoney, 1993). Informed choices about research-design mitigate selection-bias issues. Even if the researcher is careful in selection, there still is a risk of error with the conclusions drawn from the analysis and projections of how it may be applied more broadly.

The phenomenon of scholars extending their models and hypotheses to explain additional cases requires yet another set of review guidelines to obtain rigor within Comparative Political Development research. Collier and Mahoney use a Ladder of Generality as a tool to address the following issues raised by Satori: 1) broad comparison is difficult, 2) political and social reality is heterogeneous, 3) applying a category in a given context requires detailed knowledge of the context, and 4) it is easy to misapply

categories (Collier and Mahoney, 1993). This is yet another set of guidelines that imposes rigor on the Comparative Political Development researcher. The researcher may not be able to completely explain or overcome all of the challenges, but to be aware of them and to acknowledge weaknesses in the analysis may strengthen his efforts.

After selection and extension, the sample size itself is another category of rigor for the comparative political development researcher.

Lieberman provides a unified approach to mixed methods methodology, small-N and large-N data. By joining intensive case study analysis with statistical analysis, he has revealed synergistic value (Lieberman, 2005). Small-N analyses can be used to assess statistical relationships between variables, as well as insights from outliers; such an approach is useful for comparative research since it employs the strengths of the two important approaches. Therefore, the three screens for rigor -- selection bias, extension, and mixed methodology -- can support the Comparative Political Development researcher as well as keep her grounded and cautious about broad generalizations and poor inferences.

Although there is disagreement amongst researchers as to the validity of standardization of case studies to support, not prove, theory, there is consensus among researchers that carefully chosen cases serve to explore themes and issues more deeply than quantitative or other qualitative methods. In order to achieve this depth, a researcher can prepare to do high-quality case study through intensive training (Yin, 2013). The desired attributes of a well-trained case study researcher are many: asking good questions, being a good “listener,” staying adaptive, having a firm grasp of the issues being studied, and avoiding biases (Yin, 2013). It is through these skills that a case study

researcher provides evidence for the causal claims (Crasnow, 2012). Further, case studies can also forward understanding of issues, and not necessarily support an existing theory. Case study research can do analysis and exploration that contributes to understanding or forming a theoretical framework. How does one do case study research?

The literature is clear on the three avenues of data collection. A case study researcher may collect data through direct observation, interviews, or archival records (Yin, 2013). The six sources of evidence (documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts) create convergent evidence on a single study; and, through data triangulation this convergent evidence strengthens the construct validity of a case study (Yin, 2013).

Yet, the bothersome question of sample size requires attention. A single case study is an elusive concept and “haunts the imaginations of social scientists everywhere” (Gerring, 2004). Furthermore, Gerring dismisses case study research of the classic $N=1$ research design because a single unit observed at a single point in time without the addition of within-unit cases offers no evidence of a casual proposition (Gerring, 2004). The case study researcher understands that both longitudinal and cross-sectional data is not an either/ or choice; both may be critical within the collection process. This provides the within-unit cases that strengthen analysis in case-study research.

A case study is not just an alternative research methodology, nor is it a competing methodology. As a complementary methodology, the case study has different strengths and weaknesses from those of quantitative methods, like multivariate regression as will be discussed later in this chapter. Regression analysis, a method based on theories,

attempts to refer to real mechanisms: X effects on Y. However, theorists make tradeoffs regarding generality and depth. Theorists can make mistakes, and discerning genuine theoretical progress can be difficult.

Multimethod research can forward our understanding of phenomena, and understanding the limitations and shortcomings of each method can determine strategies for integrating a mixed-method approach for sound advancement of theories. Formal models are theoretically based, and must be combined with empirical methods to constitute research. On the other hand, cases can do more than just illustrate models: they can test them and verify hypothesized mechanisms.

Quantitative Analysis

Regression analysis will be used to test outcomes in health and education based on population, percentage of Benedictine presence, and per capita income by region. Regression analysis is used to understand which among the independent variables are related to the dependent variable. The regression investigates the forms of the relationships between a dependent variable of educational attainment or health and independent variables of the size of the populations, GDP per capita, number of Benedictine monasteries (or monks within the population), percentage of urban population and percentage of rural population.

The Benedictine presence can be found through direct contact with Immigration and Administrators of the religious orders. Literature on civil society and faith-based organizations is plentiful and supports the proposition that they help achieve development goals.

Statistical Analysis

When the focus is on the relationship between a dependent variable (such as education or health) and one or more independent variables, a regression analysis is suitable. More specifically, regression analysis helps in the understanding of how the typical value of the dependent variable changes when any one of the independent variables is altered, while the other independent variables are held fixed. The data was used to conduct simple and multiple regressions; all independent variables were entered into the analysis simultaneously.

How does regression analysis support the research? What is regression analysis? Statistical analysis is a mathematical body of science that pertains to the collection, analysis, interpretation or explanation, and presentation of data. The goal of regression analysis, a subset of statistical analysis, is to examine the association between one or more independent variables, usually denoted as X's, and a single dependent variable, denoted as Y. Researchers call the independent variables exogenous, predictor, or explanatory variables. The dependent variable is often referred to as the outcome, response, or endogenous variable.

There are five particular issues that are of interest with a regression model. These are as follows:

1. Regression analysis helps define the form of the relationship (Hoffman, 2004). This involves what the regression equation looks like, or how to depict the specific mathematical function that represents the association between the independent and dependent variables. A typical linear regression equation can be illustrated thusly

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \dots + \beta_e X_e + \epsilon$$

The α is the intercept, the β 's are regression or slope coefficients, the ϵ is the error term, and there are e independent variables.

2. Regression analysis illuminates the direction and strength of the associations (Hoffman, 2004). It is important to know whether there is a positive or negative association between the independent variables and the dependent variables. For this research we are hypothesizing that there is a positive association between a specific region's infant mortality rate and Benedictine presence in the region. To determine the strength of the associations, it is necessary to scrutinize the size of the regression coefficients. The larger coefficient, in an absolute sense, is associated with the variable that has the stronger association with the dependent variable. This assumes that the compared independent variables are measured in the same way (for example, in years).

3. Regression analysis is useful in determining which independent variables are important and which are not (Hoffman, 2004). By evaluating the p-value, researchers determine how important the independent variable is within the model. For this research $p < 0.05$ is the commonly accepted threshold for demarcating whether or not a coefficient is statistically significant.

4. Regression analysis exposes confounding (or muddling) relationships between independent variables and the dependent variable. In order to determine the association between a particular independent variable and the dependent variable, it is necessary to include other independent variables that may be associated with both the

independent variable of interest and the dependent variable (Hoffman, 2004).

Researchers do not know which additional variables have this effect. It is necessary to have an intimate knowledge of the processes involved with the dependent variable so as to choose effectively which independent variables to include in the model. “In fact, it is not an exaggeration to claim that intimate knowledge of these processes – through reviewing the literature, conducting background research, and thinking deeply about the issues involved in the study – is necessary before estimating any regression model” (Hoffman, 2004).

5. Regression analysis is a useful tool to predict a value of Y for a given set of Xs. Predicting a value of the dependent variable based on values of the independent variable is a simple exercise after the linear regression model is estimated (Hoffman, 2004). By inserting values that fall within the range of data used in the analysis, researchers can simply input values for Xs and compute a corresponding Y value.

Dependent Variables

There are two dependent variables: educational attainment (for boys and girls) and child mortality. These two variables are chosen because linkages to government spending and government activities associated with them is well documented.

Educational attainment of women and child mortality are linked according to the literature. This data is obtained from information compiled independently by the World Bank, UNICEF, and the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health within Tanzania. With education, people are better prepared to prevent disease and to use health services effectively. The association between education and health has been well-

documented in many countries and time periods and for a wide variety of health measures. A clear association between education and health that cannot be fully explained by income, the labor market, or family background indicators (Cutler & Lleras-Muney, 2007). Early in 1978 a World Bank work program was launched to study the operational implications of meeting basic needs within a short period, for example, one generation, as a principal objective of national development efforts. The objective of meeting basic needs brings to a development strategy a heightened concern with the satisfaction of some elementary needs of the whole population, particularly in education and health (Streeten, 1981).

Independent Variables

These variables will be used for the regression: the size of the populations, GDP per capita, number of Benedictine Monasteries (or monks within the population), percentage population living in rural areas. The choice of these variables is explained below.

Models

Educational Attainment (Primary School Completion Rates) = $B_0 + B_1(\text{size of population}) + B_2(\text{GDP per capita}) + B_3(\text{Benedictine presence}) + B_4(\text{Rural population}) + e$

This model examines the relationship between population, per capita, Benedictine presence, and rural population with respect to educational attainment within the four selected regions. The literature, field experience, and extensive travel within the country of Tanzania dictate the importance of these independent variables in relation to the response variable. Each independent variable and its importance will be explained

further in this chapter. The e of the equation is all that cannot be explained by the independent variables.

$$\text{Infant Mortality} = B_0 + B_1(\text{size of population}) + B_2(\text{GDP per capita}) + B_3(\text{Benedictine presence}) + B_4(\text{Rural population}) + e$$

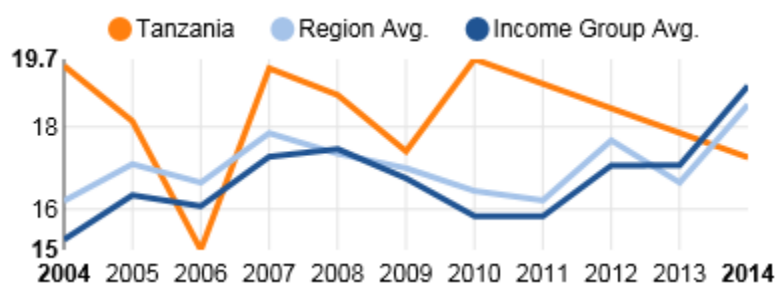
Similar to the abovementioned regression model, the same independent variables will be used within a regression model to explain the infant mortality rates in the four respective regions. As was suggested in the earlier explanation of the limitations of regression analysis, there was no a priori knowledge on the part of the researcher of the effects of one independent variable on another (collinearity).

Although the analysis for the research will use mixed methods for the purpose of testing the hypothesis and for explaining the research questions, this particular focus on quantitative data employs simple and multiple regression analysis to test outcomes in health and education. Simple and multiple regression identifies the best combination of predictor (independent variables) of the dependent variables, namely primarily school attainment rates and infant mortality. This multivariate technique is used when there are several independent quantitative variables and one dependent quantitative variable (Mertler & Vannatta, 2010). The following independent variables have been selected for the multiple regression: population, Benedictine monks in the region, and per capita income by region. The research may lead to a conclusion that a simple regression works best as a predictor for infant mortality rates and educational attainment, as opposed to a multiple regression model.

In order to gain a better understanding of the political and fiscal environment that impacts educational attainment, an examination of some important descriptive data is

helpful. In other developing countries, particularly India, some connection exists between government spending and the quality and results of schools and the achievement of students where government spending on education has a large impact on rural poverty and productivity growth (Fan, Hazell, and Thorat, 2000). In Sub-Saharan Africa, in general, the achievement of high enrollment ratios has been associated with high priority being assigned to public expenditures on primary schooling (Colclough & Al-Samarrai, 2000). One can glean from the descriptive data that the Tanzanian government has outspent other similar Sub-Saharan governments and global peers on education, resulting in favorable primary school completion rates. What this data illustrates is the impact of spending on the macro-level within Tanzania; it fails to illumine the progress made at the regional levels, which is the focus of this research.

Figure 10. Government expenditure on education as percentage of GDP (percentage)

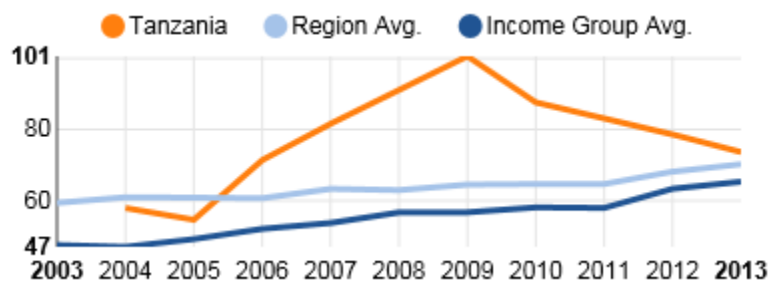


Government expenditure on education as percentage of GDP (percentage) USAID (2017)

Expenditures on education has been volatile at best. Notwithstanding, Tanzania's spending has been consistently higher than its peers until 2013, with the exception of 2006. In early July 2011 the World Bank released its annual review and classification of countries into the four well known income groups—Low, Lower Middle, Upper Middle

and High. Tanzania would fall within the Low income group. The purpose for these analytic divisions is to allow operational divides in the lending activities of the World Bank—IDA eligibility, IBRD loans, or a blend of both. GNI (Gross National Income) per capita is the Bank's main criterion for classifying countries. The rationale is that poorer countries should have less costly lending conditions from the Bank than richer countries. Each year the thresholds between the four income groups are adjusted for international inflation such that, in real terms, the thresholds remain constant over time (https://idea.usaid.gov/prepared/Snapshots/eads_snapshot_35.pdf).

Figure 11. Primary completion rate, both sexes (percentage)



Primary completion rate, both sexes (percentage) (USAID, 2017)

Tanzania has made great strides in primary completion rates from 2006 to 2013. Presently, the country is close to parity with other similarly developed countries.

Government Spending on Education

The poorest countries of the world, most of them in sub-Saharan Africa, were not expected to achieve full primary school enrollments, let alone, universal completion rates by 2015, nor are they capable of adequately redressing problems related to educational quality and the often tenuous link between education and dubious employment prospects

for many youths (UNESCO, 2010). International pronouncements concerning the imperative of education for the transformations required to reduce poverty and social injustice have not been matched by the political will and the resource transfers needed to realize stated goals (Haslam et al, 2012). Therefore, the independent variable of government spending on education (primary education) affirms the interrelatedness of education and development over the past 50 years. Education serves as the cornerstone of long term development programs and policies. And, government spending is some indicator of commitment to educational progress within Tanzania. The differences between government spending between the selected regions in the better funded north and those in the lesser funded south is in excess of several million TZ dollars per annum. A rough exchange rate between Tanzanian and US dollars would be \$1.00 equals 2,250 TZD.

Population and Education

A majority of policy makers, at least in international policy circles, have traditionally taken the view that the problem of education or lack thereof among the populations of the Global South is easily solved by placing trained teachers in classrooms (Banerjee & Duflo, 2011). Students will come and they will receive a good education. This approach is amplified with larger populations. So, one can infer that larger populations may have different success rates than smaller populations, given the limited resources in smaller (rural) populations and greater breadth of service delivery in larger population. Population size may curtail educational advancement based on numbers of students that require services with disproportionate numbers of teachers and funding.

What this research attempts to explain, by comparing four regions with similar population size, is that population alone is not a predictor for educational outcome.

Per Capita Income

The average citizen of the United States is about twenty times as prosperous as the average inhabitant of sub-Saharan Africa (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013). The schooling system in the United States enables citizens to acquire a unique set of skills to complement ambition and talent. The incomes of people have immediate and long-term effects on educational attainment and the trajectory of educational advancement. If technology in 1500 AD predicts technology (and thus per capita income) today, then there is little doubt that income has a bearing on education and resulting technological advances (Easterly, 2013). Seventy-eight percent of the income difference today between Europe and sub-Saharan Africa can be explained by technology that was already in place by 1500 (Easterly, 2013). For this analysis, income differentials between the four regions may be predictors for educational attainment.

Benedictine Presence

Four Benedictine monasteries in Tanzania, the oldest European established monasteries on the continent, demonstrate the interplay of the monastics with the villagers, both Christian and Muslim, who encompass the monastic enclosure. It is the goal of this research to understand better the role of monastic life in the scheme of development within Tanzania. There are no monasteries in the northern regions to be examined in this research. What is anticipated from the statistical analysis is a connection between the monasteries and an impact on education in the southern regions.

Rural Population

Globally, rural contexts can be distinguished on the basis of the relative importance of agriculture and the relative levels of poverty. “Rural” exists in two inextricably linked forms: a spatial identity (an area of low population density, agricultural or resource-based in its livelihoods) and a cultural identity of the tight-knit communities (with maternal hearths and patriarchal power) (Bell, 2007). It is the relative isolation (because of remoteness, internal distances, or the general lack of infrastructure) that translates into a limited ability to participate in or influence national politics. The lack of infrastructure is a direct result of political indifference or neglect by central authorities (Haslm et al, 2012). The rural poor are at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. A grouping comprised of small plot owners, tenant farmers, and farmworkers, these rural poor are the Third World’s most impoverished and powerless occupational group (Handelman, 2013). What also characterizes the rural poor is their maintenance of a traditional lifestyle that is distinct from that of city dwellers, who experience a more modern, technologically advanced lifestyle. The poverty of the rural poor is marginalized from the national political process frequently, thus preventing them from gaining access to or expressing a strong voice as to how resources for health and education are to be distributed.

Regression Analysis

Because the proposed multivariate regression analysis will focus on four distinct regions within Tanzania, the northern states of Mwanza and Shinyanga and the southern states of Rukwa and Ruvuma, an exploration of the independent variables for a multivariate regression for education is necessary. Although data for the variables was retrieved from as far back as 1967, gaps in the data over periods exceeding a decade and

the volatility of the extant data precludes the decision to regress over a longer period of time. There exists solid continuous data over a period from 2002 to 2012 to be analyzed for infant mortality and primary school completion rates for Tanzania.

It is preferable to have larger observations than smaller ones. Decidedly, ten observations are on the minimal side. It is suggested that small sample sizes prevent researchers from using statistics. This may not be a truism for all researchers and in all scientific methodology. While some statistical models afford researchers the ability to handle small-n studies, small-n studies limit researchers' ability to see big differences. An allegorical example that illustrates this point would be making astronomical observations with binoculars. Researchers can see the metaphorical planets, stars, moons of their research—big things—but they are limited in further exploration of distant nebula and the granular aspects of those astronomical phenomena within their sight. With small “n” statistics, researchers can see big things, but have limited ability to determine big differences. A case in point: in a published study, researchers observed the academic and social participation behavior of only six elementary school students in general education inclusion classes at two schools in a published study (P. Hunt, G. Soto, J. Maier, K. Doering , 2003).

Bro David Gantner OSB, archivist of the St. Ottilien Congregation in Germany provided figures of the number of Benedictine monks from 2002 to 2011 in Ruvuma and Rukwa Regions. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare provide primary school completion rates and the infant mortality rates. Population data, particularly rural and urban breakouts, come from respective regional reports from the Prime Minister's office.

ANOVA stands for Analysis of variance (ANOVA) which is a collection of statistical models used to analyze the differences among group means and their associated procedures (such as "variation" among and between groups).

Figure 12. IMR regressed against Benedictine Presence Squared

SUMMARY OUTPUT

<i>Regression Statistics</i>					
Multiple R	0.504540526				
R Square	0.254561142				
Adjusted R Square	0.155169295				
Standard Error	12.12528886				
Observations	18				

ANOVA					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	2	753.104997	376.5525	2.5611873	0.110430797
Residual	15	2205.339447	147.0226		
Total	17	2958.444444			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>
Intercept	373.3651159	132.7312126	2.812941	0.0131127	90.45523314
Ruvuma Benedictine Presence SQ	-0.002888582	0.001278471	-2.2594	0.0391736	-0.005613579
Ruvuma % Urban	-4.542739901	3.131988715	-1.45043	0.1675266	-11.21841582

Infant Mortality in Ruvuma is regressed against Ruvuma Benedictine Presence Squared and Rural population percentage for years between 1996 and 2013. In this multiple regression model, Ruvuma Benedictine Presence Squared is well within the 0.05 threshold. Ruvuma % Urban (or, conversely, % Rural) living in the region is insignificant as it has a P-value outside of the threshold. The Benedictine presence explains 25% of the infant mortality rate decrease.

Figure 13. IMR Mwanza regressed against Mwanza % Urban

SUMMARY
OUTPUT

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.903810541
R Square	0.816873493
Adjusted R Square	0.805428086
Standard Error	6.606832648
Observations	18

ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	1	3115.373976	3115.374	71.37129	2.71496E-07
Residual	16	698.4038023	43.65024		
Total	17	3813.777778			

	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%
Intercept	464.8386307	44.17316922	10.5231	1.35E-08	371.1956952	558.48157	371.1957	558.4816
Mwanza %	-							
Urban	17.95857616	2.125739845	-8.44815	2.71E-07	-22.4649433	-13.45221	-22.4649	-13.4522

Infant mortality in Mwanza region is regressed against Mwanza Rural population for the years between 1996 to 2013. This analysis affirms the connection between more urban areas and infant mortality. The urban independent variable predicts 81% of the infant mortality rate in Mwanza region. Its P-value is well within acceptable values at the 95% confidence interval. So, this statistic matches the literature concerning the impact of urbanization (or the lack thereof) on infant mortality.

IMR regressed against Shinyanga % Urban

SUMMARY OUTPUT

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.60097647
R Square	0.36117272
Adjusted R Square	0.32124602
Standard Error	6.28867245
Observations	18

ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	1	357.741581	357.7416	9.045894	0.008345
Residual	16	632.758419	39.5474		
Total	17	990.5			

	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%
Intercept	130.121682	15.24085186	8.537691	2.36E-07	97.81252	162.4308	97.81252	162.4308
Shinyanga % Urban	-4.7127868	1.566938878	-3.00764	0.008345	-8.03455	-1.39102	-8.03455	-1.39102

Infant mortality in Shinyanga region is regressed against Shinyanga Rural population for the years between 1996 and 2013. In Shinyanga region urbanization explains 36% of the infant mortality rate in the region. P-values are well within acceptable ranges.

Figure 14. IMR regressed against Shinyanga Population

SUMMARY OUTPUT

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.50729774
R Square	0.257350997
Adjusted R Square	0.20430464
Standard Error	6.267177373
Observations	16

ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	1	190.5523288	190.5523	4.851436	0.04488121
Residual	14	549.8851712	39.27751		
Total	15	740.4375			

	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%
Intercept	106.6937066	9.608863409	11.10368	2.52E-08	86.08474426	127.3027	86.08474	127.3027
Shinyanga Population	-6.82806E-06	3.1E-06	-2.2026	0.044881	-1.3477E-05	-1.8E-07	-1.3E-05	-1.8E-07

Infant mortality in Shinyanga region is regressed against Shinyanga total population for the years between 1996 and 2011. Again, this analysis confirms the predictability of population size and infant mortality rates. The region's population explains only 25% of the infant mortality rate with a P-value indicating significance

Figure 15. IMR regressed against Rukwa % Urban

SUMMARY OUTPUT

Regression Statistics					
Multiple R	0.891280167				
R Square	0.794380336				
Adjusted R Square	0.77381837				
Standard Error	4.569912895				
Observations	12				

ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	1	806.825628	806.8256	38.63348	9.94102E-05
Residual	10	208.8410386	20.8841		
Total	11	1015.666667			

	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95.0%	Upper 95.0%
Intercept	293.5449318	29.53246333	9.939737	1.68E-06	227.7425029	359.3474	227.7425	359.3474
Rukwa % Urban	-9.68461923	1.558119024	-6.21558	9.94E-05	13.15632476	-6.21291	-13.1563	-6.21291

Infant mortality in Rukwa region is regressed against Rukwa percentage urban population for the years between 2002 and 2013. A rural population is more likely to have a greater infant mortality rate, as suggested by the literature. Rukwa's rural population explains a smaller portion of infant mortality rates, 79%; the -9.68 coefficient is significant with a P-value well below the 0.05 threshold within a 95% confidence interval.

The quantitative research did not yield the anticipated results for data. For one, the multivariate regressions were of no support in answering the research questions.

Collinearity created problems for the model, but when simple regression was used, the findings do support the underlying literature and furthers the progress in answering the research question. Benedictine presence, according to a simple regression, tended to contribute to rising infant mortality in Ruvuma region, which was surprising to discover. Moreover, established factors such as urbanization decreased infant mortality in Ruvuma region.

In simple regressions for Mwanza and Shinyanga regions, the independent variables of urbanization and population exhibited trends that coincide with the literature and support their choice in the initial multivariate regression analysis. Notwithstanding, a simple regression on Rukwa region did support literature on the impact of urbanization on infant mortality.

The analysis indicated that the presence of Benedictine monasteries was a significant predictor in Ruvuma Region. This was expected as the largest hospitals in the region are administered by Benedictines.

If analysis can be thought of as a continuum, quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis would lie at the extremes. This section focused on numerical data which is analyzed to answer questions. In the next chapter, qualitative analysis is used to analyze data that are subjective and not numerical. This includes data such as life experiences, opinions, attitudes, etc. They describe the event, their attitudes, their emotions, etc. These cannot be analyzed through statistics, and should be interpreted with the usage of qualitative means. Hence, the researcher turns to qualitative analysis. Qualitative research often involves the study of behavior and the reasons behind it. This type of

analysis is more concerned with how and why instead of what, where and when which are more focused upon when conducting quantitative research.

CHAPTER IV – Qualitative Case Studies

Case studies will focus on four distinct regions within Tanzania, two in the north (Mwanza and Shinyanga) and two in the south (Rukwa and Ruvuma). The research hypotheses restated are the following:

Hypothesis 1: The presence of Benedictine monasteries in Southeastern Tanzania brings to parity health indicators with better funded regions in Northern Tanzania.

Hypothesis 2: The presence of Benedictine monasteries in Southeastern Tanzania brings to parity educational indicators with better funded regions in Northern Tanzania.

Education as case

Although a discussion of the independent variable of education has been discussed earlier, it is within a case study method that the researcher can go beyond the numbers, so to speak, and look at the nuances and subtleties of the dependent variable from multiple perspectives. Educational attainment within a population is an important component of human capital fundamental for economic growth and overall development (Birdsall, Ross & Sabot, 1995; Barro & Lee, 2001). As an overview, Sub-Saharan Africa made progress in education, with the average primary school completion rate jumping from 50 percent in 1990 to 59 percent by 2002, and literacy also making strong gains. (Moss, 2007) While these are substantial increases over a short time period, the continent remains far behind most other regions of the globe (Moss, 2007). An estimated 72 million children around the world—about half in Sub-Saharan Africa—remain out of school (Fast Track Initiative, October 2009). Many children are forced to drop out of school before they reach the last grade, to help supplement their family income or due to

expensive school fees. What are the sources of achievement motivation? Where does it come from? Psychologists tend to locate it as the family, especially in the process of parental socialization. (McClelland, 1964).

Basic education in Tanzania was not a priority for colonial rulers. In 1947 under 10 percent of the school-age population was enrolled in primary school (Cameron & Dodd, 1970).

After independence in 1961 education policy directed toward providing a basic educational system was a lower priority compared with skills building and vocational training appropriate for the emerging Socialist Tanzania. A more agriculturally-based primary curriculum was introduced following the Arusha Declaration in 1967 with a new policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) encouraging each school to contribute to its own upkeep through income raising activities. Primary schooling was planned to expand gradually so as to achieve UPE (Universal Primary Education) by 1989. The decision to abolish school fees at primary level in 1973 was expected to support this expansion. However, the implementation date for UPE was brought forward to 1977 in the Musoma Resolution of 1974 on the grounds that resource constraints would always be operative and delaying universal provision of basic education was politically inconsistent for a socialist government. The Musoma Resolution sought to make primary education compulsory, universal and terminal. Consequently, in 1978 an Education Act was passed which made primary enrolment and attendance between the ages of seven and 13 compulsory. Contravention of this Act led to some parents being fined or even imprisoned.

The number of primary pupils increased almost immediately after the Musoma Resolution, with enrolments increasing four fold during the 1970s and continuing to rise until 1983... percentage of Form I pupils in non-government secondary schools rose from 7 per cent in 1960 to 29 per cent in 1970 to 43 per cent in 1980 and 60 per cent in 1992.

However, the dramatic and rapid expansion at primary level, combined with declining national economic performance and constrained government finance, had detrimental consequences in terms

of education quality. Parents began to complain of illiterate primary graduates, the benefits of schooling were questioned, enrolment rates declined and drop-out rates increased. The GER declined from a peak of 96 per cent in 1983 to an estimated 73.5 per cent in 1990.

In efforts to address the economic crisis the government turned towards more free market policies adopting a structural adjustment programme which included a major currency devaluation, the curtailment of government expenditure, civil service retrenchment and extensive privatisation. In line with these economic changes the education sector began to encourage private sector involvement and seek a broader resource base for the financing of education. The changing economic environment would be expected to alter the costs and future benefits of education. By the mid-1990s households faced rising costs at primary and secondary levels. Low enrolments and high drop-outs continue to characterise the primary education system, and rising direct costs to households have raised fears that enrolments may decline further (IDS and MOEC 1996) although there has been strong government commitment to tackling the problems of the education sector (Primary Education Master Plan 1995a). (S Al-Samarrai, T Peasgood, 1998)

If family is assumed to be of universal importance, especially for the young, it would follow that it constitutes an anchor by which to influence people within a social environment that is most comfortable and necessary. This intra-human affinity becomes less as the unit increases in size from the family to the community to the nation. Herein lies the importance of reinforcing the strengths of the smaller societal unit, family, for the benefit of the larger societal unity, community.

First, parents need to set high standards of achievement for their children, such as expecting their children to excel in education, to get good jobs, and to be well known and respected in the community. Second, parents need to use the methods of warmth and encouragement in socialization. Third, parents should not be authoritarian. Western-

style education and cultural diffusion are helpful for Western nations in injecting achievement motivation into Third World countries. (McClelland, 1964)

Parents are not alone in focusing their expectations on success at the graduation exam: The whole education system colludes with them. The curriculum and organization of schools often date back to a colonial past, when schools were meant to train a local elite to be the effective allies of the colonial state, and the goal was to maximize the distance between them and the rest of the populace. Basic education challenges traditional values and social arrangements, empowers both women and men, and promotes active participation in civics (Payne and Nasser, 2012). Despite the influx of new learners, teachers still start from the premise that their mandate remains to prepare the best students for the difficult exams that, in most developing countries, act as a gateway either to the last years of school or to college. Associated with this is a relentless pressure to “modernize” the curriculum, toward making it more scientific and science oriented, toward fatter (and no doubt weightier) textbooks – to the point where the Indian government now sets a limit of 6.6 pounds on the total weight of the book bag that first and second –graders can be asked to carry (Banerjee &, Duflo, 2011)

No educational system is value-neutral, but all teach and are shaped by a certain set of ideas, values and behaviors, whether that be consumerism, communism, religious beliefs, or sustainability. “Education is not an end in itself. It is a key instrument for bringing about the changes in the knowledge, values, behaviors, and lifestyles required to achieve sustainability and stability within and among countries, democracy, human security, and peace. Hence it must be a high priority to reorient educational systems and curricula towards these needs. Education at all levels and in all its forms constitutes a

vital tool for addressing virtually all global problems relevant for sustainable development” (UNESCO, “Educating for Sustainability”). Nonetheless, an economic view of education adheres to an abiding structuralist position concerning the status quo as a basis of stability and continuity and the notion of development as a linear process of growth defined by governing elites and implemented by those with technical expertise (Haslam *et al.*, 2012). This modernization perspective is embedded in the thought processes of those who are involved as producers, deliverers, and consumers of education (Jones, 2007; Ramirez and Boli, 1987).

The more sustainability can be integrated into existing school systems—whether at a Catholic school, a private university, or a public elementary school or through less-formal educational institutions such as museums, zoos, and libraries—the more people will internalize teachings of sustainability from an early age, and these ideas, values, and habits will become “natural.” If education can be harnessed, it will be a powerful tool in bringing about sustainable human societies. (Worldwatch, 2010)

Between 1999 and 2006, the global pre-primary percentage of children aged one to five who were enrolled in a kindergarten or the equivalent grew from 33 to 40 percent. The share of children in such educational settings varies widely around the world, however. By 2006 the figures were 14 percent in sub-Saharan Africa, 18 percent in Arab states, 45 percent in East Asia and Pacific, 65 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 81 percent in North America and Western Europe (Woodhead, 2007).

In the Benedictine tradition, learning is integral to a life of prayer and work. Being obedient to The Rule of St. Benedict assumes a certain level of literacy. Monasteries became places in which countless monks undertook the painstaking work of

copying by hand Holy Scripture, prayer books, patristic writings, and literature of the classical world (Dreher, 2017). The classical education of the pagans was transformed by the Roman Catholic Church with a goal to pass on the wisdom of the past and to produce another generation with identical ideals and values based on what a human being was. (Dreher, 2017).

Historically, Christian missionaries either preceded the colonial takeovers or came in immediately after a country had been declared a colony. With Tanzania, missionaries and colonialists were practically synonymous. Colonial authorities found that Christianity had a pacifying effect on the African people, with its emphasis on spiritual matters over earthly affairs. Our lives in this world are so short, the missionaries would say, that it really does not matter what the colonial rulers do to us. What matters is what we do in preparation for the hereafter, for eternal life (Khapoya, 2013). The Christian church also served to patch up the disintegrating African communities hit hard by colonial policy, without attacking the root causes of the disintegration. One such example was the devastating defeat suffered by Tanzanian people in the so-called Maji Rebellion of 1905-1908. Africans chose to resist oppressive German colonialism. The Germans put down the revolt. When it was all over, 120,000 Africans had lost their lives. The destruction was so thorough that the Africans lost faith in their ancestral spirits also. They had been assured by their leaders that they would be duly protected by their ancestors in battle. In utter dismay and despondency, following their devastating defeat, most of these people turned to Christianity (Khapoya, 2013).

Mission education had three modest goals: first, to provide the basic literacy that would enable Africans to absorb religious education and training and help in the spread

of the Gospel; second, to impart the values of Western society, without which missionaries believed the Africans could not progress; and third, to raise the level of productivity of the African workers (both semiskilled and clerical) without necessarily empowering them sufficiently to challenge colonial rule. Mission education was inadequate, especially in its emphasis on a religious education that Western society was already finding anachronistic. But, limited or flawed as it might have been it was enough to whet the appetite of African people for more education and to pique their political consciousness (Khapoya, 2007).

African parents wanted the kind of education that would equip their children with more than just the ability to read the Bible and write in their own indigenous languages. They wanted their children to acquire the intellectual skills and language abilities necessary to fight for the land that had been taken away from their parents by European settlers and colonizers. Parents also wanted their children to succeed in the white man's world, the glimpse of which had been provided by colonial as well as missionary education (Khapoya, 2007). Many of the advancements associated with education were directly linked to Africans' enormous respect for modern education (Khapoya, 2007).

Healthcare as a case

Developing countries are caught in a cycle of poor health and widespread poverty. Poor health reduces productivity, impedes access to education, limits mobility, diminishes employment opportunities, and places a severe economic and social burden on families and on the society as a whole (Payne and Nassar, 2012). An unhealthy population works against an agenda for achieving economic development. Therefore, a host of actors, ideally working in conjunction, attempt to meet the needs of the poor.

These actors are NGOs, FBOs, multilateral aid agencies, bilateral aid agencies and local governments and the representative national governments. Two such actors in Tanzania, Benedictine monastic hospitals in Peramiho and Ndanda, strive to stand in the breach of overwhelming health issues and government lethargy towards or inability to meet the needs of the rural poor of the southern portion of the country. These monasteries rely heavily on the generosity and largess of German parishes and benefactors to continue their work with the poor in Tanzania. Although not specifically a health charity, the monastic hospitals are just one of the outreach programs to the rural poor. Health charities are organizations for which fund-raising and resource distribution are central functions and whose primary concern is to address problems of health (Milofsky and Blades, 1991).

Historically, St. Benedict made a strong connection between the spiritual life and health. The spiritual life is healthy only if it brings the body into a healthful, pleasant tension; and, people who have absolutely no sense of their bodies show a lack of religious formation (Grün and Dufner, 1993). Benedictine monks and nuns have practiced a kind of medicine that present day holistic medicine has rediscovered. In monastery gardens and apothecaries something of this alternative medicine was practiced. Further, St. Benedict admonished business managers of monasteries are not to send anyone away sad (Grün and Dufner, 1993). Ancient monks would do all that they could to meet the needs of travelers, pilgrims, and the poor; this included aspects of health. Many guests would come for healing, both spiritual and physical. The first Christians gained converts not because of their arguments, but because people saw in them and their communities something good and beautiful—and they wanted it (Dreher, 2017).

In terms of health, tragically, Africa lags much more significantly behind other global regions. One in ten children born in Africa in 2003 died before their first birthday (Moss, 2007). Tanzania has addressed health concerns through public/ private partnerships. With the emergence of Tanzania as an independent nation from Britain in 1961, President Julius Nyerere promoted an ambitious and far reaching program of social and economic development through the Arusha Declaration. Nyerere directed a path for growth and economic independence that reflected a cultural context different from the paradigms of Europe or the United States. “The Arusha Declaration is cast as the key moment at which the chains of the colonial past were broken and a new path was sought that eschewed colonial models of development.” (Jennings, 2008)

A critical theme of the Arusha Declaration was Ujamaa. Ujamaa comes from the Swahili word for extended family or “family-hood” and is distinguished by a key characteristic, namely that a person becomes a person through the people or community. “Its tenets were first outlined in the 1962 pamphlet “Ujamaa—the Basis of African Socialism,” which leaned heavily on the traditionalist interpretation: “In our traditional African society we were individuals within a community. We took care of the community, and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men.” (Jennings, 2008)

Ujamaa, the guiding theme of the Arusha Declaration, was presented by Nyerere as “hearkening back to a golden precolonial age of traditional Africa life and as a radical new policy of social change” (Jennings, 2008). This approach seemed similar in tone and fervor to the Declaration of Independence of the United States some two centuries before. Both declarations convey an imperative for self-determination and distance from a

colonial past. Yet, the Tanzanian imperative was in some ways compromised because the “main thrust of Tanzanian development policy during the first six years of independence was shaped by colonial experience” (Jennings, 2008). Colonial administrators maintained a presence through the assumption of new roles in the country; the colonial ideology was also difficult to expel.

Tanzania was just one of the many African states during the early 1960s flexing their muscles of self-agency, and, like many other African states, desired to try `new approaches to building nationhood. However, the approach of Ujamaa became a controlling force because it was implemented under the auspices of a rising and more controlling state apparatus. Because Tanzania was a “developmental state; its economy, administrative structures, and politics were all geared toward achieving rapid development. Statism emerged as a response to failures in implementing development policy.” (Jennings, 2008)

The miss-directed approach to meet the material needs of the rural people involved in Ujamaa and not their meta-needs eventually created the disconnect that led to an unbridgeable chasm between output at the governmental level and outcomes in the rural villages that were the goals of Ujamaa. This disconnect is illustrated by a description of the cross purposes of material and human resource development:

When we tried to promote rural development in the past, we sometimes spent huge sums of money on establishing a Settlement, and supplying it with modern equipment, and social services, as well as often providing it with a management hierarchy... All too often, we persuaded people to go into new settlements by promising them that they could quickly grow rich there, or that Government would give them services and equipment which they could not hope to receive in the towns or in their traditional farming places. In very few cases was any ideology involved;

we thought and talked in terms of greatly increased output, and things being provided for the settlers. (Ibhawoh and Dibua , 2003)

Unfortunately, as previously mentioned, the use of force in enforcing villagization was observed, particularly by the World Bank in 1972 (Jennings, 2008); and, the selective interpretation of Ujamaa principles by civil servants within the Tanzanian government fomented an atmosphere of forced conformity and corruption to which those villagers who were already resistant to Ujamaa further resisted the heavy handed approach. These are just a few points that could explain what led to the fall of Ujamaa; other points such as civil service corruption, a struggling global economy, oil costs, and internal politics contributed to the demise of Ujamaa in varying degrees. Even with a vast national network of Ujamaa villages in place, Nyerere's brainchild lost popular appeal by the beginning of the 1970s.

Despite the obvious shortcomings, Ujamaa fostered closer linkages between the government and the nascent non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil society organizations. The legacy of those linkages may factor into the creation of present day public private partnerships (PPPs). The state was indeed a dominant actor, but not a sole actor in development planning and implementation. The Tanzanian government relied "on internal and external partners: the churches and mosques, voluntary agencies, foreign donors and NGOs." (Jennings, 2008) It is through these partnerships that the government was able to administer goods and services, such as healthcare, to its constituency.

Health service has been an area of cooperation between the government and the private sector within Tanzania. Many different types of NGOs have participated in health

delivery since independence; the Ministry of Health statistics from 1961 to 1997 do not differentiate between religious and secular voluntary organizations (Mallya, 2010). The vast majority of the organizations providing hospitals and dispensaries have been Christian. As the government faced economic hardships in the 1970s and 1980s, “some institutions that were nationalized in 1967 reverted to their former owners, which included the two main institutionalized religions, Christian and Muslim.” (Mallya, 2010) Additionally, the government entered into partnerships with religious groups in turning some religious property into government facilities, as with the designated district hospitals (DDHs). Similar to the concept of eminent domain in the United States, the government could exercise its option to convert a facility under the management of a religious organization into a government owned district hospital at its discretion. There is a rich history to explore and build upon concerning health care delivery systems in Tanzania. This research will give close inspection to the cases of Mwanza, Shinyanga, Rukwa and Ruvuma regions.

The stage is now set in this research to present the qualitative data in order to begin to answer the overarching research question, phrased differently: what explains the parity of education and health indicators between poorer Southeastern Tanzania and better funded regions in Northern Tanzania?

Case Studies for Education and Health

Case Studies: Education in Tanzania

Some of the poorest countries in the world have made the greatest strides in education: Burundi, Rwanda, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Togo, and the United Republic of Tanzania. Considerable progress has also been made in Benin, Bhutan, Burkina Faso,

Ethiopia, Guinea, Mali, Mozambique, and Niger, where net enrollment ratios in primary school increased by more than 25 percent from 1999 to 2009. With an 18 percent gain between 1999 and 2009, sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the best record of improvement (http://www.tz.undp.org/mdgs_goal2.html) Tanzania was clearly on track to achieving the MDGs related to primary education, child mortality, gender equality, and access to improved sanitation, but is lagging behind in other MDGs. Most indicators in education have registered improvement over time. By 2009, net enrolment rates in primary education had slightly declined to 95.9 percent from 97.2 percent in 2008 in the Mainland, while in Zanzibar it had risen to 83.4 percent from 77 per cent (http://www.tz.undp.org/mdgs_goal2.html). There is near gender-parity with regard to enrollment of girls and boys at the primary school level. However, primary School retention rates (proportion of children enrolled in Standard I who complete Standard VII) have dropped from 78 percent in 2006 to 62.5 percent in 2008. Private participation in the provision of education has been noticeable at primary education level where enrolment in Non-Government schools has increased by 380.2 percent in primary schools in the past 10 years (Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government Pre- Primary, Primary and Secondary Education Statistics 2013).

Retention of girls is slightly better than that of boys. There is still concern about the performance of girls in Standard VII (Primary School Leaving) Examinations. Transition rates indicate that Secondary School enrolment is up with a near gender-balance at entry. However, after Form IV the retention of girls drops substantially with a ratio of 2 boys to 1 girl when they reach Form VI.

Adult illiteracy remains high. According to the HBS 2007, literacy rate among age 15+ is 72.5 per cent (80 per cent for men and 66.1 per cent for women). Overall, about 27.5 per cent of Tanzanians cannot read and write in any language. There is more illiteracy among women (34 per cent) than men (20 per cent) (http://www.tz.undp.org/mdgs_progress.html). The target of eliminating illiteracy by 2015 remained challenging particularly for rural women.

Implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) had greatly helped Mainland Tanzania toward achieving MDG 2. PEDP is being rolled over to 2011. A similar program exists for Zanzibar. Recruitment of more teachers is being fast tracked by reduction of years in training and by putting in place accelerated training plans. Poor families have been provided for, by allowing their children to attend school free of charge. Expansion of secondary school infrastructures has resulted in increased intake of Primary School leavers thus adding motivation to staying the full course of primary schooling.

Tanzanian progress in primary education is however, not without flaws. Several challenges remain. Main among them are ensuring cohort completion (62.5 percent in 2008), the quality of education (high pupil/teacher ratio of 54:1 in 2009) as well as the pass rate at the primary school leaving certificate (52.7 percent in 2008).

Researchers have noted geographic disparities in indicators of quality in primary education in Tanzania. The differences in education outcome, appear to be due to inequalities in the allocation of financial resources (Kassile, 2014). The 10 Local Government Authorities with the highest budgets for staffing per child aged 7-13 years received on average about eight times the resource allocation compared to the 10 lowest

Local Government Authorities (Kassile, 2014). Pupil to teacher ratios varied from 44 to 70 in the highest and lowest districts based on resource allocation. Although funding for primary education increased in 2008/2009 by 17%, the equity in allocation of funds has not been achieved (RAWG et al, 2009).

Regional disparities in resources are common in most third world countries. There is a phenomenon whereby key infrastructures, economic activities and services are concentrated in a few core regions, which are endowed with resources (Hall, 1984). With the steady increase in development, resources (and subsequent benefits) diffuse to regions formerly disadvantaged (Roden, 1974). Unfortunately, continuous and unregulated expansion in one region works against development in other regions. Tanzania's attention to rural development had a slow start, only beginning in the second half of the first decade after independence in the early 1970s (Collins, 1974). After more than 50 years of independence, there are glaring regional inequalities (Kassile, 2014). Between 2010 and 2011 spending in the regions per persons varied widely: Mwanza's 206b TZS, Shinyanga's 148b TZS compared to Ruvuma's 86b TZS (no figures were available for Rukwa which would be in all likelihood considerably less) (Tanzania Budget Explorer, 2011).

Another disparity in resource allocation is in the area of human capital. In the rural areas the working environment is not conducive to attracting or retaining qualified staff to administer public schools. This reaffirms validity of the hypothesis for this research. However, what explains comparable, if not higher, educational indicators between the poor and rich regions selected for this study? Where is the source of additional help? Benedictine monasticism is one factor to be considered, and its history

would also suggest its role as a supporter of advancement of education in populations. To understand how this factor influences education, it is necessary to have some understanding of the structure of Benedictine monasteries.

Abbots are the absolute leaders of Benedictine monastic communities. In the Rule of St. Benedict it is understood that “the one who accepts the name of abbot” represents Christ. Motivated by his love, the abbot is not to command but rather to teach through example (Holzherr, 2016). Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215) had very early on begun to call the collectivities of monks “schools.” Cassian tried to promote the understanding of the monastery as school in the West (Holzherr, 2016). Yet, even with this tacit mission to teach, specifically religious catechesis, monasteries through the centuries, and specifically in Tanzania, have diffused this zeal for education in a variety of ways, ways as unique as the expressions of monasticism in communities across the globe. Benedictine monasteries are similar but not identical. The interviewed informants describe these phenomena in detail:

“I would describe it in terms of fidelity to the – what I call the genius of the rule that kind of – in a sense of the guiding mind of Benedict that gets played out in communities very, very differently so that we’re not – we’re not all identical, but I think we are all similar.” Informant A

“Who are the people we’re serving. And then the charisma of how that service is might be different. It might be education, it might be for women’s communities, and especially hospitals, would be... a big part of their mission. But it would be, how are we serving those that are gathered around us?” Informant B

“Well, yeah, the overall goal of establishing Benedictine life, monastic life in these monasteries. I mean, that—just the broader goal, you might say. Course you might say secondary goals such as our work—you know, they’re all different. You know, Benedictines, we don’t have a common work. Each monastery chooses its work—the work it wants to do and how it’s going to support itself and so there’s—you know, I would say those are the secondary—that’s the secondary goal—or one of the secondary goals.” Informant C

The first reason guards against communities becoming dependent on benefactors financially and spiritually. This connection may influence choices the monastery may make out of conviction that could upset benefactors. The second reason serves as a reminder to monastics that life is also toil; and, through toil they share the same fate of many who struggle for their subsistence. The third reason suggests that work is a type of therapy. And lastly, in the spirit of the Rule it was promoted that monks should serve people by their work; work was not just for profit. It is doubtful that any aid agency personnel or NGO personnel could sustain themselves without the support of funding from their respective governments or parent organizations, let alone operate as development agents without funding.

Aid agencies and NGOs look to partner with civil society in order achieve their programmatic goals. This is similar to monastic communities’ recognition of the needs of the community; monastics interface and dialogue with community members. However, the scale at which aid agencies operate, especially large ones like USAID, the interchange of civil society actors may be more fluid than with monastic communities. Monastic communities are location bound within a country or region; an aid agency may

have a country-wide focus and thus be able to work with different civil society organizations in different places at different times. NGOs like monasteries may be limited to a specific region or town. Yet, the NGO has the ability to leave and go to another region or town. The monastery is a permanent fixture in the region or town.

In Tanzania, the Catholic Church is the largest Christian denomination, followed by Lutherans, Anglicans, Moravians, Seventh Day Adventists, and Pentecostal churches (Leurs, Tumaini-Mungu, Mvungi, 2011). Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventist churches were perceived to focus more on evangelizing and to be relatively less involved in development services than the Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran churches (Leurs, Tumaini-Mungu, Mvungi, 2011). Christian and Islamic religions have been a part of the fabric of civil society in Tanzanian for more than a century. Additionally, Buddhism, too, is a world religion that has had a toehold in Africa dating back to the early part of the twentieth century.

In 1920 Sri Lankan Buddhists established a center in Tanzania; and, between 400 and 450 Sri Lankan Buddhists were working at the center in Dar es Salaam. It is considered to be the oldest Buddhist temple in Africa (Pannasekara.com). There is a resident monk who lives in Tanzania but visits other African countries as a fulfillment of his ministry. The Buddhists require the material support of the outside community to thrive and find it a challenge in Tanzania to meet their future goals without this assistance: the planning of a nursery school, orphanages, medical clinics, and health services. So Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist faith-based organizations (FBOs) have a presence in Tanzanian civil society. Now, it is worthy to study secular organizations that are both numerous and diverse.

Since the 1980s, there has been a growing number NGOs operating in Tanzania. Due to economic hardship and the inability of the government to provide services to the population, NGOs and civil society has stepped in to fill the gaps of service delivery. In 1993, there were 224 registered NGOs in Tanzania. Seven years later, in 2000, the number was 8499 (Lange, Wallevik, and Kiondo, 2000). Although these NGOs are a mixture of religious and secular organizations, the staggering difference in total NGOs for the period between 1993 and 2000 suggests that growth occurred in both secular and non-secular organizations.

Organizational democracy especially suited to feminist and other non-traditional, non-hierarchical organizations illustrate a model by way of a case study of two communities of Benedictine nuns (Hoffman, 2002). The elements of the model are: shared fundamental values, structures designed to encourage true participation, and the provision of resources members need to participate effectively (Hoffman, 2002). The decision-making practices of Benedictine sisters are a suitable case study, because Benedictine communities are feminist in nature, have relatively flat organizational structures, and have been using democratic practices for a longer period of time than have most contemporary organizations ((Hoffman, 2002). African women belonging to monastic communities may indeed be experiencing the democracy observed by Hoffman. This exposure may also have ramifications on the democratic interactions of women. This may be more readily seen through the provision of principal services.

Convents in Tanzania are active in educating girls and providing health services to women, especially those infected with HIV. What was surprising, even to the staff of AIM USA, is the number of ties this supporting organization of Tanzanian monasteries has with

female foundations. These ties outnumber ties to male foundations by a ratio of 4 to 1. This finding may have implications to monastic foundations in Tanzania, especially in their attractiveness for women, and poses a further research question: why are female foundations so abundant in Tanzania compared to male foundations?

Peramiho Abbey, a large male foundation in Ruvuma, partners with the government of Tanzania to provide vocational training to villagers. The Vocational Training School (VTC) in Uwemba began in the 1960s with the purpose to train young women in domestic skills. To date over 600 young women have gone through this simple but well established school. The VTC has gone through many transitions through the decades and is now registered with the Tanzanian Vocational Education Training Authority (Missionary Benedictines, Peramiho Abbey, <http://www.peramiho.org/en/index.html>, retrieved January 20, 2011).

It can be inferred that communities of monastic women can serve as role models to girls and perhaps be an encouraging influence to those girls and women considering the pursuit of spiritual vocations. Moreover, these women who serve as teachers, health professionals, and businesswomen display possible professional aspirations for girls. Through exposure to these convents in schools or through service delivery, girls get a glimpse of what the world has to offer, both within the confines of the cloister and beyond. Interestingly, the more popular and scintillating role models, especially for girls in urban areas, are the former Miss Tanzanias, women who competed in the Miss Universe Beauty Pageant. Ekstom argues “that in the early 21st century Miss Tanzania had become a symbol of success and modern womanhood in Tanzanian urban culture.”

(<http://wpmu.mah.se/glocaltimes/?p=101>, City Sisters navigating the Glocal Mediascapes in Dar es Salaam by Ylva Ekström)

It will involve further research to understand the impact of nuns on the population of girls with whom they come into contact in Tanzania or other countries in the world. Through education, health services, and other services nuns show another non-traditional approach to supporting oneself in community and also serve as examples to vocational aspirants.

Continuing the rise since 2004, well over one third (37%) of children are now enrolled in pre-primary education, and the proportion of children starting pre-primary at the requisite age has also improved slightly, due to government promotion.

The percentage of students passing the primary school leaving examination (PSLE) has fluctuated significantly in recent years. Disaggregated statistics by region and by gender are widening the disparities. In the 2008 examinations, Dar Es Salaam recorded the best results with a pass rate just below 74% (boys 82%, girls 66%), while Shinyanga reported the lowest pass rate at 34% (boys 46%, girls 22%). Now, turning to the four identified regions, a comparison of cases may demonstrate the effects of funding, civil society (in this case, Benedictine Monasticism) on educational outcomes.

The situation in the education sector in Tanzania is mixed. On the positive side, since the early 2000s, Tanzania's education sector has witnessed impressive achievements in school enrolments at all levels. For example, 80 percent of primary school-age children (age 7–13) now attend school. The Government has also harmonized various education sector policies including: Education and Training policy (1995), Technical Education and Training Policy (1996), National Higher Education Policy

(1999) and Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Policy for Basic Education (2007) which has resulted in formulation of Education and Training Policy 2014, which responds to the needs of the current labor market and growth of the education sector. On the other side, however, the quality of education offered by Tanzania's education system needs to be improved. Areas that need to be improved include reducing student dropout cases, along with increasing competencies and morale by motivating teachers. (<http://unohrlls.org/custom-content/uploads/2016/03/REPORT-TANZANIA.pdf>)

Committed to achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE), the Government of Tanzania has developed various plans based on sector policies and plans. The objectives of UPE were to: enhance access and equity; improve quality; strengthen capacities; address cross cutting issues; strengthen institutional arrangements; undertake educational research, and conduct educational monitoring and evaluation.

Since 2011 and following years, the number of students enrolled in primary education at the correct age has been improving after a slight decline in 2012, enabling the government to achieve its target of universal access to primary education. The primary education enrolment was; 8,363,386 pupils in 2011, 8,247,172 students in 2012, 8,231,913 students in 2013, 8,222,667 students in 2014 and 8,298,282 students. In secondary school education, the enrolment level is reported to have also increased from 1,789,547 students in 2011 and 2,087,915 students in 2015 equivalent to an increase of 16.7 percent.

Figure 16. Ruvuma highlighted in Tanzania



Case Study 1: Ruvuma

Ruvuma Region, whose capital is Songea, has a current population of 1,376, 891. Ruvuma Region is mainly an agrarian region with over 87 percent of its population residing in rural areas and actively engaged in land based Production. Agriculture is the mainstay and leading productive sector accounting for a larger part of the regional GDP and per capita income.

Formal education in Ruvuma regions began with the work of the Missionaries, particularly the Catholic Church, whose entry into the region dates back to 1898. The governmentally launched Universal Primary School Education Programme (UPE) in 1974 was instituted to provide education to all children aged 7-13 and to reduce adult illiteracy rates from 69% to 5% throughout the country. Primary school education in

Ruvuma region has been expanding especially in rural Songea where a Benedictine Monastery is present, Hanga Abbey (The Monastery of Hanga is the first monastery founded by indigenous people in Africa). In 1975, only a year after the UEP was established, there were 122 primary schools. By 1985 there were 143, and most recent data shows that there are 147 primary schools as of 1996 (*Ruvuma Region Socio-Economic Profile*, 1998).

Ruvuma region like other regions of Tanzania is facing a serious shortage of educational facilities (*Ruvuma Region Socio-Economic Profile*, 1998). Classrooms, teacher houses, latrines and other basic educational facilities such as desks, tables, chairs, and cupboards are in short supply. The absence of these necessities combined with the congestion in classrooms has contributed to poor performance in schools. This is not more evident than in rural Songea. Government reporting shows that there is a 9.6% shortage of classrooms and a 58.5% shortfall in teachers. Other shortages in amenities and consumables for education rate in the high double digits as well.

Educational financing is fairly linear throughout the country. From 2002 until 2014, the Tanzanian Government has increased its total budget from 2,106,291 Million Tzs to 18,248,983 Million Tzs, while the Education sector as a percentage of total government budget has fluctuated from a beginning point of 18.8% in 2002, to a high of 19.8% in 2008, to a near low of 17.4% in 2014 (the lowest point was 15.1% in 2004) (Prime Minister's Office, *Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary Education Statistics 2013*, 2014). Although this percentage is flat across the country, regional budgets differ greatly, and Ruvuma region's budget is 88 Billion Tzs, whereas Mwanza region's budget is 206 Billion Tzs. (www.twanweza.org/tz-budget). Given this disparity, it is surprising

to learn that the primary school attendance rate for Ruvuma region is 93% for females and 90% for males, and in Mwanza the rates are 76% and 74%, respectively. Previous studies of private schools in developing countries led to the conclusion that private schools improve the quality of education in countries with a well-developed supply, while private schools only improve quantity in countries with a low supply of education.

Figure 17. Mwanza highlighted in Tanzania



Case Study 2: Mwanza

Mwanza Region, whose capital is Mwanza, has a population of 2,772,509, which is 400,000 larger than the combined populations of Ruvuma and Rukwa (<http://www.citypopulation.de/Tanzania-Cities.html>). The main economic activities carried out by Mwanza are agricultural production, animal husbandry, and fisheries. There is no commercial farming in the region. The region boasts of a well-stocked fish

producing area which borders Lake Victoria. The fishing industry is growing, due in part to the establishment of fish fillet factories in the region. Fishing activities are mainly carried out in areas along the shores of Lake Victoria through traditional methods. Commercial fishing is carried out by big companies using modern fishing gear and vessels (*Mwanza Region Socio-Economic Profile*, 1997).

Mwanza region, like the rest of the regions in Tanzania, is experiencing obstacles in realizing educational targets. The scale, however, is much greater than the shortfalls in Ruvuma. The average deficiency in classrooms is 45.8%. What is even more telling about the obstacles is that there are approximately 7 (seven) private primary schools in Mwanza region for 332,787 students, most of whom attend public schools.

It is now government policy to allow the private sector (including religious bodies, private individual, NGOs and entrepreneurs) to establish pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools. In spite of a dramatic increase in primary school enrollment over the years, the number and quality of primary schools has not kept pace with demand. In 1978, the coverage was one primary school to every 2,371 people. The corresponding figure for 1995 is 2,670.

Recent data shows in 2004 79.8% of students passed Standard 4 examinations, which is below all of the targeted regions. Ruvuma exceeded the rate of Mwanza with 86.4%, as did poorer Rukwa with 83% passing. In 2000 and 2001 Ruvuma had close to the same pass rate with 57.87% and 56.45%, compared to the well-funded Mwanza with 53.32% and 60.60%, respectively.

Figure 18. Rukwa highlighted in Tanzania



Case Study 3: Rukwa

Rukwa Region is another case study selected from Tanzania's 31 administrative regions. The regional capital is the municipality of Sumbawanga. According to the 2012 national census, the region had a population of 1,004,539. For 2002-2012, the region's 3.2 percent average annual population growth rate was tied for the third highest in the country. It was also the twentieth most densely populated region with 44 people per square kilometer.

The dominant religions are Christianity and Islam. Christianity is represented by all the major denominations, including Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Moravians, and Lutherans. Islam is represented by the Sunni, Ahammadiya, and Jaba. Islam is mostly

confined to Kirando village. Religious institutions play an important role in providing social services such as dispensaries and schools. However, they are yet to play a discernible role in environmental education, an area of co-operation which may prove valuable to the Project in the future. (Pollution control and other measures to protect biodiversity in Lake Tanganyika (RAF/92/G32))

As per April 2007 Cluster Social Services, Rukwa region had 511 Primary Schools out of which 510 are public primary schools and one private school with a total of 188,672 children (96,327 boys and 92,143 girls-aged between 7 – 9 years). There are 2,159 permanent classrooms and 2,846 teachers. This translates to a teacher to students ratio of 1:66. To meet the ideal ratio of 1:40, an additional 1,859 teachers are required in Rukwa region.

Academic performance in primary schools is somewhat satisfactory. The rate of passing examination in standard IV in 2006 was 84.72% that is lower compared to 2005 (89.15.%). As for standard VII, the rate increased from 49.53% in 2004, 60.68% in 2005 and 78.53% in 2006.

(<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/314531468339592722/pdf/423670ESW0P1021final020June02802007.pdf>) Again, arguably the least funded of the four regions under investigation, Rukwa region's pass rate for Standard 4 examinations (83%) surpassed highly funded Shinyanga region (80%) and Mwanza (79.8%).

Figure 19. Shinyanga highlighted in Tanzania



Case Study 4: Shinyanga

Shinyanga Region's capital is the municipality of Shinyanga. According to the 2012 national census, the region had a population of 1,534,808. For 2002-2012, the region's 2.1 percent average annual population growth rate was the twentieth highest in the country. It was also the tenth most densely populated region with 81 people per square kilometer. With a size of 50,781 square kilometers, the region is slightly smaller than Costa Rica.

The absence of active involvement of Christian Missionaries in the past in education is one of the factors which slowed down education in the region (Shinyanga Regional Socio-Economic Profile, 2007). Despite the absence of FBOs, there has been

expansion of primary education programs. The number of primary schools in Shinyanga region increased steadily from 876 in 2001 to 1,091 in 2006 (Shinyanga Regional Socio-Economic Profile, 2007). The share of the private sector ownership of primary schools was low. In 2001 only 5 out of 876 schools was privately owned (Shinyanga Regional Socio-Economic Profile, 2007). This number only increased to 13 by 2006. Primary school completion numbers increased (mostly linear with a drop in 2001) over a ten-year period from 36,997 to 53,555. In the absence of many private secondary schools in the region, it is not easy for those completing primary school to secure continuing education in a secondary school. The number of examinees that joined Form One in public secondary schools in the region for the year 1997, 2001, 2005, and 2006 was 5 percent, 7.4 percent, 38 percent, and 53.6 percent respectively (Shinyanga Regional Socio-Economic Profile, 2007). Overall, the government assessment of the development of primary school facilities in Shinyanga region is “pathetic” (Shinyanga Regional Socio-Economic Profile, 2007). The region has a deficit of classrooms, desks, toilet holes, and water supply. With overall government funding for the region reaching approximately 148 billion TZS in 2011, the percentage of funding for education is below Mwanza, but almost two times greater than Ruvuma.

Disappointing outcomes of primary school completion rates may be linked to the shortage of schools, particularly private schools. There is no Benedictine presence in the region, or at least not at the scale experienced in Ruvuma and Rukwa Regions. The greater funding, but glaring absence of Benedictine school or other private schools, has not yielded an outcome of higher primary school completion rates in comparison with similar sized regions in the southern part of the country.

Case Studies: Health

While significant progress has been made to reduce child mortality in Tanzania, the neonatal mortality rate remains high at 32 per 1,000 live births, and accounts for 47% of the infant mortality rate which is estimated at 68 per 1,000 live births.

The critical challenges in reducing child mortality encompass health factors and non-health factors. The former involves the inadequate implementation of pro-poor policies, weak health infrastructure, limited access to quality health services, inadequate human resource, shortage of skilled health providers, weak referral systems, low utilization of modern family planning services, lack of equipment and supplies, weak health management at all levels and inadequate coordination between public and private facilities. The non-health system factors include of inadequate community involvement and participation in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of health services, some social cultural beliefs and practices, gender inequality, weak educational sector and poor health seeking behavior.

Maternal and child health services were established in Tanzania in 1974. In 1975 the Expanded Programme of Immunization (EPI) was initiated to strengthen immunization services for vaccine preventable childhood diseases. Tanzania adopted the Safe Motherhood Initiative (SMI) in 1989, following the official launch of the Global Safe Motherhood Initiative in 1987 in Nairobi, Kenya. Subsequently, the 1994 International Conference for Population and Development (ICPD) emphasized access to comprehensive reproductive health services and rights. In response to the ICPD Plan of

Action, Tanzania established the Reproductive and Child Health Section (RCHS) within the Ministry of Health and developed a National Reproductive and Child Health Strategy

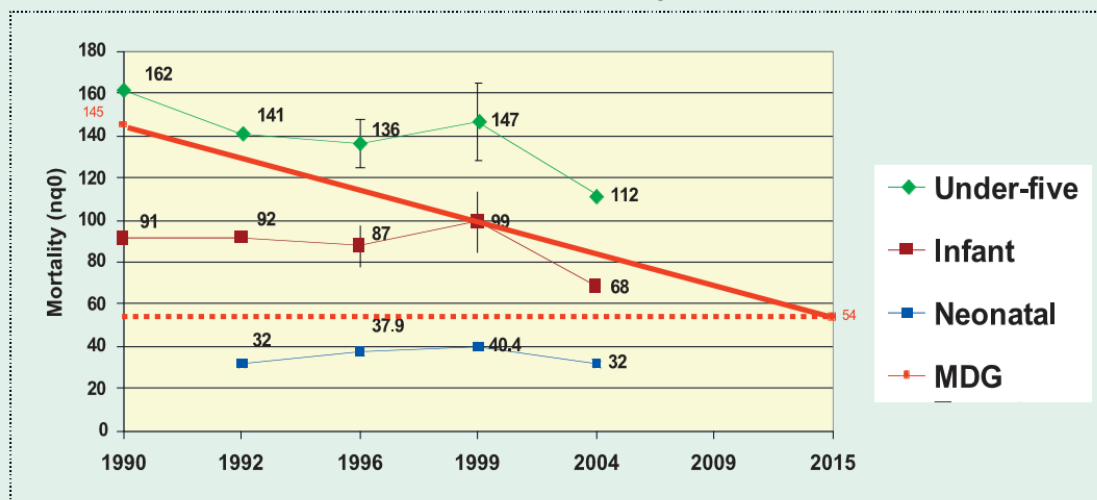
The most recent Demographic Health Survey (TDHS, 2004/5) has shown decline in under-five and infant mortality by 24% and 31% respectively to 112 and 68 per 1,000 live births, the infant and under five mortality rates in Tanzania are still unacceptably high. Every year about 154,000 children die before reaching their fifth birthday. In addition, as expected, the mortality rates are highest in the lowest, second and middle wealth quintiles (137, 156 and 147, respectively) as compared to the highest wealth quintile (93).

Although under-fives constitute about 16% of the population, they account for 50% of the total mortality burden for all ages. Most of these deaths are due to preventable diseases. Malaria, pneumonia, diarrhea, HIV/AIDS and neonatal conditions account for over 80% of deaths. Malnutrition is a contributory factor to about fifty percent of all deaths.

The under-five mortality rate for children whose mothers were less than 20 years of age when they gave birth is 157/1,000, versus 120/1,000 for children whose mothers were in their twenties. Children whose birth order is seven or higher have a mortality rate of 151/1000, compared with 121/1,000 for those born second or third.

Figure 20. The National Road Map Strategic Plan -2008 - 2015

Table 1: Trends in Infant and Under-Five Mortality Rate in Tanzania, 1990-2004/5



Source: TDHS, 2004/05

TDHS, 2004/05 41 Helen Keller International, 2004/05

In the health sector, Tanzania has made significant progress over the past four years. The life expectancy at birth has risen from 55 years in 2010 to 62 years in 2014, with infant mortality declining from 68 deaths per 1000 live births in 2005, down to 41 in 2012/13. With this performance, the country was on-course to achieve the MDG target of reducing infant mortality down to 38 deaths per 1000 live births by 2015 (MKUKUTA Annual Review, URT, 2014).

Child mortality rate in Tanzania has also been decreasing and the country attaining MDG 4 target by 2015. As of 2010, under 5 mortality rate had reached 81 per 1000 live births, down from 191 in 1990 (TDHS, 2010), but still higher than the MDG target of 64 per 1000 live births by 2015. Infant mortality rate has shown good progress,

with 45 per 1000 live births in 2012, which is 7 births higher than desired target of 38 by 2015.

Although the Benedictine presence dates back to the late 19th century in Tanzania, a more recent decree emanating from the Holy See gave a boost to an already active apostolate in the country. On October 28, 1965 Pope Paul VI proclaimed *Perfectae Caritas*, Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life. Among the 25 articles of the decree, articles 9 and 10 are most salient to this research. Article 9 states:

“The monastic life, that venerable institution which in the course of a long history has won for itself notable renown in the Church and in human society, should be preserved with care and its authentic spirit permitted to shine forth ever more splendidly both in the East and the West. The principle duty of monks is to offer a service to the divine majesty at once humble and noble within the walls of the monastery, whether they dedicate themselves entirely to divine worship in the contemplative life or have legitimately undertaken some apostolate or work of Christian charity. Retaining, therefore, the characteristics of the way of life proper to them, they should revive their ancient traditions of service and so adapt them to the needs of today that monasteries will become institutions dedicated to the edification of the Christian people.”

It states further that “some religious communities according to their rule or constitutions closely join the apostolic life to choir duty and monastic observances. These should so adapt their manner of life to the demands of the apostolate appropriate to them that they observe faithfully their way of life, since it has been of great service to the Church.”

Article 10 gives context to the Tanzanian experience of Benedictine apostolates:

“The religious life, undertaken by lay people, either men or women, is a state for the

profession of the evangelical counsels which is complete in itself. While holding in high esteem therefore this way of life so useful to the pastoral mission of the Church in educating youth, caring for the sick and carrying out its other ministries, the sacred synod confirms these religious in their vocation and urges them to adjust their way of life to modern needs.”

The Christian denominations, particularly Catholic, have played a key role in the provision of health services. All the major hospitals belong to the Roman Catholic Church: Ndanda in Mtwara, Nyangao in Lindi, and Peramiho and Litembo in Ruvuma (Mallya, 2006). Health and education services have been the areas of greatest cooperation between the government and the private sector within Tanzania. Many different types of NGOs have participated in health delivery since independence; the Ministry of Health statistics from 1961 to 1997 do not differentiate between religious and secular voluntary organizations (Mallya, 2006). The vast majority of the organizations providing hospitals and dispensaries have been Christian.

Case Studies: Health in Tanzania

The rate of infant and under-five mortality has continued to decline, and Tanzania met the MDG for under-five mortality in 2015. The improvement in child survival since 1999 is most likely explained by gains in malaria control. Neonatal mortality has declined at a slower rate and now accounts for a growing share of under-five deaths (*Poverty and Human Development Report, 2009*).

The budget allocation to the health sector has increased in recent years (Katera and Semboja, 2008). Since 2001, over 50% of respondents have reported a positive view

about the government's performance in the health sector. More rural respondents were satisfied with health services than urban residents, and more men than women.

When discussing health in Tanzania, or the Third World writ large, the topic is explicitly normative in orientation and orbits around the goal of reducing health inequities: “The poor health of the poor, the social gradient in health within countries, and the marked health inequities between countries are caused by the unequal distribution of power, income, goods and services, globally and nationally, the consequent unfairness in the immediate, visible circumstances of people's lives – their access to health care, schools, and education, their conditions of work and leisure, their homes, communities, towns, or cities—and their chances of leading a flourishing life. This unequal distribution of health-damaging experiences is not in any sense a ‘natural’ phenomenon but is the result of a toxic combination of poor social policies and programmes, unfair economic arrangement, and bad politics. (Commission on Social Determinants of Health, 2008:1)”

Case Study 1: Ruvuma

St. Benedict's Hospital in Ndanda from its conception was an instrument of evangelization in caring for the sick. Although a Christian hospital, the early missionaries believed “the message of Christ's love would reach all people without excluding believers from nonbelievers.” (Benedictine Abbey Ndanda, website). Care for the sick, a Benedictine charism, goes as far back as 1900. Patients were treated for poisoning, malaria, leprosy. In cooperation with the Benedictine Sisters the Ndanda Hospital was rebuilt and now accommodates 300 beds for inpatients, a new operating theater, and a pharmacy. The hospital is challenged with overcrowding, because it is the

only hospital in the region that is as well equipped to meet different and more complex patient needs. It also functions as a referring hospital for the Lindi and Mtwara regions. In addition to medical care, the hospital also provides dental care through its dental department.

The health status in Ruvuma region is, woefully, similar to the dour experience of other regions in Tanzania. Although Ruvuma has adequate health facilities, the lack of trained staff and medicine stymie progress. In 1996 there were 8 hospitals, 15 health centers and 146 dispensaries. Measured against the estimated population of 1996, the hospitals and Rural Health Centres exceed the number of patients suggested by national standards. Naturally, this situation lowers the quality of service in hospitals and Rural Health Centres and may contribute to the frequent occurrence and reoccurrence of certain diseases. The most common diseases in Ruvuma Region are the following: malaria, URTI, diarrhea, pneumonia and anemia.

By the end of 1996, there were 146 dispensaries in Ruvuma Region catering for an estimated population of 1,020,464 people. By National Standards, a dispensary is supposed to serve 10,000 people, so the dispensaries in this region have capacity to serve even more patients, which is a positive developmental trend! This rosy picture does not extend to hospitals. Ruvuma Region by the end of 1996 had only 8 hospitals, 3 public and 5 private hospitals. By national average standards a doctor is supposed to serve only 24,930 people, but in Songea Rural a doctors serves 55,096. Furthermore, Songea Rural had only one Private hospital (Peramiho Hospital) and it served 330,576 patients against the required figure of 150,000 people per hospital. The lack of funding and oversubscribed usage of hospital facilities has an historical precedent.

African nuns performed miracles with only rudimentary training in first aid and gynecology. After some years of work, they acquired enough experience to be able to save many lives of expectant mothers and their babies and those suffering from malaria (Rweyemamu and Msambure, 1989). In 1953, the colonial Government agreed to allow Catholic missions to continue practicing medicine with little to no financial assistance. The missions bore the heavy yoke of healthcare in the heart of the population where 97% of the people were found in rural areas, often remote. Training of African staff became increasingly important and by 1954 there were eleven catholic hospitals.

Peramiho Hospital is a large regional hospital that treats a plethora of patient needs. Its Children's Ward is a haven of hope and despair. During the dry season there are fewer mosquitoes, thus less malaria. It is different in the rainy season. The ward is consistently filled to capacity, primarily because of the large unmet demand. The growing population of Tanzania translates to a majority of the population below 17 years of age. So, with the prerequisites of vaccinations and school medical exams, the ward is in constant use. For the over 17-year-old patient, the focus is not as intense. Because adults, in many instances delay and procrastinate before seeing a doctor (this is not only a poor country problem), treatment for their ailments are often beyond the scope and capabilities of the staff and facilities. Moreover, adults fear the high costs associated with a doctor's visit. Peramiho Hospital hopes that early and preventative treatment will yield future health benefits for adults.

There has been a decline in infant and child mortality rates over the past ten years. This trend has been attributed to general improvements in the provision of public health services including immunization and nutrition programs implemented by the government

in collaboration with external agencies... and local religious Institutions. Between 1975 and 1995 Ruvuma region recorded the highest decline of both Infant Mortality Rates (39.3%) and Under 5 Mortality Rates (41.6%).

Ruvuma received about 5 billion TZS from the government for healthcare purposes, compared to approximately 20 billion TZS for Shinyanga and 30 billion TZS for Mwanza. Although there have been large differences in IMR between Ruvuma and heavily funded Mwanza, the IMR gap not only narrowed, but Ruvuma excelled. In 1995, the IMR for Mwanza was 95/1000 and in Ruvuma it was 88/1000.

Case Study 2: Mwanza

There are a total of 318 dispensaries in the Mwanza region. Of the 12 hospitals, 7 are run and owned by the private sector. Malaria, anemia, UTTIS, diarrhea, immunizable 'early childhood diseases and malnutrition played a decisive role on the survival of infants and under-fives. Mwanza Region's improved performance in the decline of these rates can be attributed to increasingly successful child immunization programs, deliberate steps taken toward controlling severe malnutrition, and moderately good dispensary to hospital service. A comparison for infant and under-fives mortality rates for Mwanza region compared to other regions shows mixed results.

Region	IMR/ 1000			U5MR/1000		
	1978	1988	1995	1978	1988	1995
Mwanza	139	115	95	233	192	157
Rukwa	170	131	101	283	221	189
Ruvuma	145	113	88	245	188	143
Shinyanga	150	110	81	252	183	131

Table 2 Source: *Mwanza Region Socio-Economic Profile 1997*

Case Study 3: Rukwa

The Health Sector in Rukwa region is still underdeveloped and it is characterized by high rates of morbidity and mortality due to inadequate resources. The health sector is seriously underfunded despite the fact that it is a priority sector in the Poverty Reduction Strategy, and despite the fact that a healthy population is a basic ingredient of economic growth. Lack of funds, however, is not the only cause of the weak health system. Under skilled and de-motivated personnel, deficiencies in quality of care, weak and confusing management systems, lack of information provided to health consumers, and lack of access by the very poor to treatment characterizes much of the current situation.

These factors, and more, have resulted in a health care system that requires not only massive investment of funds but also a renewed commitment and vision among all actors-- government, policy makers, donors, non-governmental organization, faith based organizations, health worker themselves and others-- to generate fundamental change.

The main sources of funding for the health sector from the government and basket funds are not adequate to support and sustain health services in Rukwa region. The

Catholic Mission is assisting in establishment of a nursing college in Nkasi and the Government is reviving the Mpanda clinical officer's college as a way of addressing the shortage of health staff in Rukwa region. There are, however, insufficient funds to finalize these programs. Another initiative being promoted is establishment of a special fund by the region to be used to attract people to work in Rukwa (by paying them extra allowances to meet their basic needs).

The monastic presence in the Rukwa region has championed healthcare initiatives and government sponsored programs. A small spark of light in a region of extreme need the monastery continues to run a Clinic and provide basic, but essential, healthcare procedures and training to support the local rural population.

“The society's health has not been left to perish. In 1994, Mvimwa monastery immediately started St. Camilus Health centre in order to help its people around who formerly had to undergo a lengthy journey just for a hospital... Maternities no longer suffer birth trauma in their homes or other unsafe places as the centre carefully controls the matter with touchy closeness to the victims...Frt. Ignas Danda OSB, the sole doctor the centre has from the brothers, satisfies the need, a little more help is needed though. However, his struggle to meet a wide range of complains from the society proclaims the true Benedictine spirit in doing with the sick. [Working with Frt. Ignas Danda are] Frt. Zenobius Nandi OSB, Frt Innocent OSB and Frt. Gaspar Toke OSB.” (“Mvimwa: An Abbey at the Right Time”)

Case Study 4: Shinyanga

Mortality rates for infants and children aged under five are high in Shinyanga Region. The average infant mortality rate for the Tanzania mainland in 2002 was 95 per 1000; in Shinyanga it ranged from 77 in the Municipality to 108 in Bariadi District. The

national under five mortality rate was 154; in Shinyanga it varied between 113 in the Municipality and 178 in Bariadi. Two thirds of those who had been ill in the four weeks preceding a 2004 survey had suffered from fever or malaria, while a further 18% reported diarrhea. Fever was suffered predominantly by children under five. (Water Supply and Sanitation Programmes Shinyanga Region, Tanzania 1990-2006)

Between 2004 and 2013, infant mortality rate (IMR) of Shinyanga Region was declining at a moderating rate to shrink from 93 deaths per 1000 population in 2004 to 73 deaths per 1000 population in 2013. (<https://knoema.com/atlas/United-Republic-of-Tanzania/Shinyanga-Region/Infant-Mortality-Rate-IMR>)

Shinyanga region is among the regions in the country which shows a rapid rate of change in the infant mortality rate (IMR). Based on 2002 National Census data infant mortality declined from 137 to 95 per 1,000 live births at the national level. The data only improves with preliminary 2004/2005 Domestic Household Survey (DHS) data that shows from 1999 to 2004/2005 infant mortality declined from 99 to 68 per 1,000 live births. Much of this decline is likely to be the result of improved malaria control, net usage and medicines. Tanzania can celebrate the positive changes within the healthcare arena, but what is glaring is that there are poorer regions in the country that have similar IMR rates, even better, with less government funding.

Case Studies: Conclusions

Comparing large social units in order to identify their singularities has been with us for a long time (Tilly, 1984). Individualizing comparison attempts to contrast specific

instances of a given phenomenon as a means of grasping the peculiarities of each case (Tilly, 1984). For this study, four regions within Tanzania have been compared in terms of Primary School Completion rates and Infant Mortality rates. Close in population and size, the regions differ on three levels: geographic location, government funding, and Benedictine presence.

Max Weber serves as a pedigree for individualizing comparisons. His wide comparisons of religious systems served mainly to specify the uniqueness of the achieving, accumulating, rationalizing, bureaucratizing West. The point of Weber's analysis was to explain the initial differentiation between mystic contemplation and ascetic activism (Bendix, 1960). What is being attempted in this analysis is to show that there may be an underlying principal that explains the various experiences with IMR and Primary School Completion rates. Can it be said, comparing the four regions that a Benedictine presence may be a factor, outside of government spending, that brings to parity (or close) health indicators like IMR and educational indicators like Primary School Completion rates in four geographical distinct regions? This is not to say that Benedictine monasticism is the *only* factor.

CHAPTER V - Analysis

In Chapters 3 and 4 a presentation of the methodology and the findings from statistical analysis and case studies were presented. In this chapter the data will be synthesized and examined to formulate answers to the hypotheses posed at the beginning of the research. This chapter will make sense of the qualitative and quantitative measures, and ultimately, will conclude with suggestions for areas of further research. To begin the analysis, let us revisit the hypotheses and discuss in depth how the research was conducted. Again, the major hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The presence of Benedictine monasteries in Southeastern Tanzania brings to parity health indicators with better funded regions in Northern Tanzania.

Hypothesis 2: The presence of Benedictine monasteries in Southeastern Tanzania brings to parity educational indicators with better funded regions in Northern Tanzania.

The two hypotheses percolated from my curiosity associated with my experiences in sub-Saharan Africa as a development professional and a researcher beginning in 1987. In Tanzania, diverse organizations purveying development aid with different agendas alternately were in competition with one another, helped one another, and impeded one another's progress, one thing that remained a constant, in my understanding, was that the players changed on a regular basis. People may make a career out of missionary work or development work; yet, it did not automatically commit them to one place for life.

Thus my fascination with the nexus of monasticism and economic development began in 2010. Monasticism, in particular Benedictine Monasticism, is predicated on the commitment of individuals (Monks, Sisters) to community and place for life. This is often referred to as a vow of stability.

Ora et Labora, the motto of Benedictine Orders, gives purpose to the vow of stability. Ora is Latin for prayer and Labora stands for work. This is an aspect of Benedictine life that is common throughout the world. As the informants I interviewed describe Ora:

“You need the [unintelligible] divine office, you need a group of people living in a community, you know, these kinds of things. The common work, etc. You know, they take vows and so on.” Informant C

“I would describe it in terms of fidelity to the – what I call the genius of the rule that kind of – in a sense of the guiding mind of Benedict that gets played out in communities very, very differently so that we’re not – we’re not all identical, but I think we are all similar. And so prayer – we’ll find prayer. I mean, office may be differently prayed from house to house.” Informant A

The other side of the dual lifestyle of Benedictine monastics is work. Work is not some obligatory practice but a form of industry that supports the monastery and solidifies it as an autonomous entity. Comments about work from the informants illustrates this point:

“and a strong prayer life together as a community—because without the prayer life, the communities don’t exist. So, they don’t function—most monastic communities wouldn’t function very well as just a... kind of a common, you know, people who wanted to work together. But the draw to it is we’re praying together, and then with that prayer, we’re also working. So then assign work to the community.” Informant B

“Work – every house has work. Every house doesn’t have the same work. You know, there’s no one work that is identifiable as Benedictine, but to work is certainly a Benedictine quality and character.” Informant A

My curiosity led me to a desire to understand the connection between permanent actors and development within a community. I look at my ten plus years of living in Pittsburgh as an illustrative of my curiosity. Having lived in Mt. Lebanon, PA, I recognized that that community thrives as a vibrant one was because of residents’ commitment to live in that community. Also, the vibrancy can be attributed to abundant resources and selective ways (not always inclusive to a broader demographic swath) the community amasses helpful financial resources. Generations of families have lived in that same community often within blocks of family members.

On the flip side of the coin, in distressed communities in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, like Homewood, of which Mt. Lebanon is geographically close to these communities, some families have made a decision to divest and leave. Or, families and residents have a desire to leave or improve the community but lack resources and know how to accomplish this desire. The commitment to place is strained and, in short,

people left for other communities and other opportunities, unwilling or unable to create opportunities for growth in the place from which they fled.

These contrasting phenomena, although simplistically portrayed, stimulated my thinking about Benedictine monasticism and development. Is the Benedictine commitment to place and community a catalyst to the overall economic development of the community in which the Benedictine community resides?

In exploring monasticism and economic development, I chanced upon a gem of a discovery in the fall of 2010. To my surprise I discovered that there is an organization of Benedictine monastics who write about monasticism in the context of a Third World viewpoint and support Third World Benedictine monasticism. The organization, Alliance of International Monasticism (AIM), furthered my eagerness to investigate the connections between a way of living and the process of improving the living situation of people in need. And where was AIM located? New York, Washington, D.C., Zurich, or Rome? The surprises about AIM marched into my life like the welcomed presence of firemen or relief workers in the midst of a catastrophe. AIM USA, the national branch of the international organization is located in Erie, PA, a mere forty-minute drive from my home!

AIM is an organization designed to promote the establishment and foundation of monastic communities around the world. There is an international council composed of Benedictines, Cistercians, and Trappists men and women that meets yearly to discuss policy and supervise the allocation of funds by the national sections. National secretariats are located in Austria, Belgium, Canada, England, Ireland, German, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. The people who staffed the national office in

Erie, one religious and one lay person, gave invaluable assistance to me: journals, papers, contacts, and logistical help in planning visits to monasteries in Tanzania and the Midwestern United States for future research. It was through their kind and patient assistance that I was able to connect with my informants for the three interviews at abbeys in the United States. Moreover, through their assistance I was able to better hone my research question to address phenomena that was accessible to me.

The Social Science Research Council, judges that “religion has emerged in recent years as an increasingly important aspect of national and international politics, as a contentious cultural force, and as a subject of sustained public debate” (<http://www.ssrc.org/programs/religion-and-the-public-sphere/>). Although religion can be a source of divisiveness in countries and communities, the practices of faith-based organizations have the potential to serve an edifying role in communities. Moreover, as an example of leveraging the resources and capacity to serve underserved populations, USAID extols the merits of religious organizations that make an important contribution to the delivery of humanitarian and economic assistance.

So, gathering the loose scraps of information that has populated my mind as a development practitioner and an annual participant in spiritual retreats at Benedictine monasteries through the United States since 1995, I hoped to construct a patchwork of connected information to answer the aforementioned hypotheses.

One of the methodologies used for the qualitative study was the use of interview data on a sample of three interviewees. I attempted to identify monastic interviewees who had different perspectives on economic development, varying from elites to lower level practitioners. The first interview took place in the serene and bucolic settings of a

Midwestern United States abbey where the interviewee lived and worked. At a different location much farther north geographically from my inaugural interview, I conversed amiably in a small library of modern Scandinavian design. The whole panorama recalled the fictional Lake Woebegone of Prairie Home Companion fame. After a couple of false starts in rooms that would not allow for sufficient quiet or privacy, Informant C led me to a quiet room with natural lighting in a corner of the third abbey I visited. Images of the television living room sets of the Dick Van Dyke Show and Leave It to Beaver were refracted through the smallish picture windows that formed a corner the room.

All the interviews were conducted face-to-face. A small portable electronic recording device was used to capture the qualitative data in the interviews. The interviews were then transcribed and the recorded data was erased. Probing questions concerning topics and issues presented by the informants themselves (monastic foundations, diocesan relationships with bishops, and authenticity) were vigorously employed. The informants were generous with their time and responses. Moreover, they all expressed an eagerness to tell their story and to convey a clear picture of monastic life.

I learned that Benedictine monasteries are autonomous entities. Additionally, I learned that the world as seen by the Roman Catholic Church is divided into dioceses that cover the globe. And, each diocese comes under the purview of a bishop. A bishop can invite a foundation (monastery or abbey) to be established in his particular diocese; this invitation can be received or rejected by a foundation. Yet, a foundation cannot enter a diocese without the expressed permission of a bishop. Therefore, bishops and foundations are co-deciders in the foundation forming process, as a general rule. Concurrent with this dynamic is the relationship between older foundations and newer

foundations. Newer foundations are the offspring of older foundations, in general. So, without the consent of an older foundation a newer foundation cannot be established.

Benedictine monasteries are similar but not identical. The informants describe these phenomena in detail:

“I would describe it in terms of fidelity to the – what I call the genius of the rule that kind of – in a sense of the guiding mind of Benedict that gets played out in communities very, very differently so that we’re not – we’re not all identical, but I think we are all similar.” Informant A

“Who are the people we’re serving. And then the charisma of how that service is might be different. It might be education, it might be for women’s communities, and especially hospitals, would be... a big part of their mission. But it would be, how are we serving those that are gathered around us?” Informant B

“Well, yeah, the overall goal of establishing Benedictine life, monastic life in these monasteries. I mean, that—just the broader goal, you might say. Course you might say secondary goals such as our work—you know, they’re all different. You know, Benedictines, we don’t have a common work. Each monastery chooses its work—the work it wants to do and how it’s going to support itself and so there’s—you know, I would say those are the secondary—that’s the secondary goal—or one of the secondary goals.” Informant C

The other method used for the qualitative analysis was specific case studies for Mwanza, Shinyanga, Rukwa, and Ruvuma regions. These regions were chosen because of their similar population sizes. Moreover, their geographical locations were important to emphasize the contrast in economic health between the regions. The northern regions of Mwanza and Shinyanga are closer to the game reserves, Lake Victoria, and other popular tourist attractions, thus ensuring a healthy flow of international currency into the region and ultimately the country. The southern regions, Rukwa and Ruvuma, serve minimally as a tourist destination, although there is access to Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean. The southern regions are typically agriculturally based economies.

With Hypothesis 1 the question that is being asked is how can more resource rich regions equal, if not lag behind, poorer southern regions in infant mortality rates. Is it simply a question of number of hospitals and money? A focus on the question is to determine when and where health care services are being delivered and by whom. The processes and the how are for further research. Historically, there is precedence for administering to the sick.

For now, we may simply note that Benedict's Rule called for the monks to dispense alms and hospitality. According to the Rule, "All guests who come shall be received as though they were Christ." Monasteries served as gratuitous inns, providing a safe and peaceful resting place for foreign travelers, pilgrims, and the poor. An old historian of the Norman abbey of Bec wrote: "Let them ask Spaniards or Burgundians, or any foreigners whatever, how they have been received at Bec. They will answer that the door of the monastery is always open to all, and that its bread is free to the whole world."³² Here was the spirit of Christ at work, giving shelter and comfort to strangers of

all kinds. In some cases, the monks were even known to make efforts to track down poor souls who, lost or alone after dark, found themselves in need of emergency shelter. At Aubrac, for example, where a monastic hospital had been established amid the mountains of the Rouergue in the late sixteenth century, a special bell rang every night to call to any wandering traveler or to anyone overtaken by the intimidating forest darkness. (Woods, 2005)

Helping the sick was, and still is, an apostolate of monasteries. The examples of monastic outreach in Ruvuma and Rukwa regions is not surprising, given the need and the levels of poverty found in those regions. Again, referencing historical examples

Crislip “examines the social functionality of the monastic health care system from the perspective of medical sociology” (8). [End Page 1016] In particular, he scrutinizes the ways in which the familial model of health care was shaped and re-shaped by the particularities of early monastic life. Describing a phenomenon that he terms “the emergence of the monastic sick role” (68), Crislip argues that for the first time in history, monastic care for the sick did away with the ancient stigmatization of illness. Through shifting the responsibility for sickness away from the person, conceptualization of the “sick role” was radically altered. In its enactment, the “sick role” was significant in socially de-stigmatizing exemption from behavioral obligations, work, worship, and diet (70–86). Crislip notes, however, that sympathetic treatment of the sick was not without its challenges. Resistance to the “sick role” manifested itself both among caregivers and those receiving care. Monastic narratives and regulations legislate the abusive treatment

of the sick by others (86–90) and abuse of the “sick role” by the sick themselves (91–99). (Crislip, 2005)

In order to understand how the quality, availability, and practice of medicine began to change during the late Middle Ages, background information will be provided regarding the state of medicine in England prior to the Gregorian Reforms of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. These reforms serve as the starting point for the reform of the actual practice of medicine in late medieval England. To understand the consequences of the reforms, this chapter will examine the quality of monastic and secular medicine in twelfth-century England by evaluating where medicine was taught and practiced, who the practitioners were, the availability of medical care, the types of medical traditions, medical sources, and the state of medical ethics. In twelfth-century England, monasteries were the main source of medical education. They supplied their surrounding communities with infirmaries and hospitals. As towns and cities began to grow, the number of monastic hospitals also increased (Knowles, year?) Besides the larger monastic hospitals, monasteries also provided infirmaries or infirmarias, rooms in the monastery or hospital where the sick were cared for, and smaller hospitals for pilgrims and wayfarers that were referred to as a hospitium. Almshouses were also used as a hospitium and were sometimes located within established hospitals (Knowles and Hadcock, 1971). While only a few hospital records survived the Dissolution of the monasteries from 1536 to 1539, it is understood that hospitals were generally separate establishments that were located throughout the community or were adjoined to aligned monasteries. All hospitals were considered more ecclesiastical rather than medical, since the focus of these institutions was on caring for the patient by giving the body relief, not curing them (Clay,

1966) Different hospitals offered different services. Most hospitals were established to support the local monasteries and the poor, while other hospitals treated only lepers, pilgrims and wayfarers, men or women. Administered by the master, prior, chaplain, or other clerical officials, hospitals were sometimes managed according to the rules of their aligned monasteries, but were primarily run as lay establishments (Prescott, 1992)

In Hypothesis 2 it is important to learn the answers to the abovementioned questions in Hypothesis 1, but for primary school completion rates. Again, is it a question of more schools and money, or the presence of specific actors in the regions that impact primary school completion rates? Monasteries have a long and storied history in the development of educational institutions and the purveying of literacy.

Most education for those who would not profess monastic vows, however, would take place in other settings, and eventually in the cathedral schools established under Charlemagne. But even if the monasteries' contribution to education had been merely to teach their own how to read and write, that would have been no small accomplishment. When the Mycenaean Greeks suffered a catastrophe in the twelfth century B.C.—an invasion by the Dorians, say some scholars—the result was three centuries of complete illiteracy known as the Greek Dark Ages. Writing simply disappeared amid the chaos and disorder. But the monks' commitment to reading, writing, and education ensured that the same terrible fate that had befallen the Mycenaean Greeks would not be visited upon Europeans after the fall of the Roman Empire. This time, thanks to the monks, literacy would survive political and social catastrophe. Monks did more than simply preserve literacy. Even an unsympathetic scholar could write of

monastic education: “They studied the songs of heathen poets and the writings of historians and philosophers. Monasteries and monastic schools blossomed forth, and each settlement became a center of religious life as well as of education.” Another unsympathetic chronicler wrote of the monks, “They not only established the schools, and were the schoolmasters in them, but also laid the foundations for the universities. They were the thinkers and philosophers of the day and shaped the political and religious thought. To them, both collectively and individually, was due the continuity of thought and civilization of the ancient world with the later Middle Ages and with the modern period.” (Woods, 2005)

Statistically the research has confirmed much of what the literature on urbanization espouses. Urbanization does explain rates of infant mortality in Mwanza and Shinyanga regions. Both regions are more densely populated and have larger urban areas than the southern regions of Rukwa and Ruvuma. Notwithstanding, the statistical analysis suggests that while urbanization helps decrease infant mortality rates in Rukwa, urbanization accretes the infant mortality rate in Mwanza. This is determined by the sign of the coefficients for Rukwa and Mwanza, -9.68 and 17.96, respectively. In Brazil, a country emerging as an industrialized power but still retaining many of the characteristics of the poor Global South, a study suggests that families on the socioeconomic margin and geographic periphery suffer the worst rates of child mortality (Sastry, 2004). However, the relatively narrow rural-urban mortality differential has been among the unresolved puzzles in Brazilian mortality patterns (Merrick and Graham, 1979). This is evident when examining the near parity between Shinyanga and Ruvuma from the case studies.

In 1995 Shinyanga reported 81 cases of infant mortality as compared to 88 cases in Ruvuma. What explains this narrow rural-urban mortality?

From the case studies there is evidence that residents of the region must have some alternative to the scarce governmental resources for healthcare. The Benedictine monasteries are one such stop gap organization that provides healthcare. Peramiho Hospital in Ruvuma is a large facility that attends to the needs of the rural population. On visits to Peramiho Abbey I witnessed daily lines of people awaiting medical attention, in addition to large mini bus taxis carrying relatives of the sick and the sick themselves every day. There is no other facility of its size and capacity in the southern region of Tanzania, particularly in the rural areas of Ruvuma. This can be inferred by the amount of government funding allocate to the region, as discussed in the case. Ruvuma received ¼th and ⅓th of the governmental healthcare funding set aside for Shinyanga and Mwanza, respectively.

The research has determined that statistically that an increase of urbanization would lead to a decrease in infant mortality in Rukwa region. This is evidenced by the negative coefficient of the percentage of urbanization independent variable. Urbanization is generally associated with a higher socioeconomic life style and urban centers tend to attract greater government funding. All of the findings are supported by the literature and give credence to the choice of urbanization as an independent variable for a multivariate regression. “Africa is urbanizing faster than any other region of the world. In 1980, only 28 percent of Africans lived in urban areas. Today, that number is 40 percent, and by 2030, it is predicted to be 50 percent” (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/27/world/africa/kenya-obesity-diabetes.html>).

As for educational achievement, one could make the blanket statement that students in rural areas are more apt to excel in school out of desperation and the desire to engage in the urban lifestyles and material rich aspects of life. One hint of this can be extracted from the primary school attendance rate for Ruvuma region which is 93% for females and 90% for males, and in the relatively wealthier Mwanza region the rates are 76% and 74%, respectively. But what if there are fewer schools and fewer resources for rural students? What then accounts for their near parity (and frequent over achievement) in primary school completion rates. To reiterate, Rukwa region's pass rate for Standard 4 examinations (83%) surpassed highly funded Shinyanga region (80%) and Mwanza (79.8%).

Notwithstanding, the Tanzanian government has achieved great strides with respect to the Millennium Development goals for primary school education, but the results have not been uniform throughout the country. The few independent schools in the more heavily government funded northern regions have not stimulated the positive academic competition that has led to a noticeable increase in primary school completion rates. On the other hand, little funding and the presence of strong Benedictine schools have contributed to an achievement rate that surpassed Shinyanga and Mwanza regions in some years. Not to say that Benedictine schools are the main reason for this over achievement, it is evident that Benedictine schools have contributed to the upward trajectory of primary school completion rates. This is not to disparage the government's prioritization of education spending. Tanzania's percentage of GDP spent on education exceeds that of Brazil, France, Austria, and the Netherlands

(<http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/stats/Education/Government-spending-on-education/%25-of-GDP>).

The result in Ruvuma concerning the Benedictine presence explanation of infant mortality rates was anticipated. If, indeed, Peramiho Abbey is the juggernaut of healthcare facilities in the Ruvuma region, followed closely by its sister hospital in Ndanda, it may be interesting to see how the apostolate of health care and the doctrinal position of The Catholic Church on contraception are working together. Population growth in Ruvuma is steady, and this may be possibly explained, requiring further research, by the discouragement or muted promotion of contraceptive use. Might a higher birth rate due to diminished reliance on contraception give rise to more births, many of whom cannot survive past infancy? In Ruvuma, for example, there are low levels of consistent use of condoms by young people and the insignificant contribution by girls in decisions to use condoms during sexual intercourse. Pregnancy related drop-out rates for girls in the region is high, which accounts at some level for the change in demographics from primary schools to secondary schools. Girls outnumber boys in primary schools, but in secondary schools the opposite is true. This is inconsistent with the general population in the region whereby girls outnumber boys (Ruvuma Baseline Survey, January 2010). There are many other factors that impact infant mortality: the environment, pre-natal care, the education level of the mother, and nutrition.

“The urbanization is driven partly by high birthrates and a shrinking availability of land, creating an exodus of millions of Africans from rural areas”

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/27/world/africa/kenya-obesity-diabetes.html>) I have witnessed firsthand, walking late night rounds with young German doctors contracted to

work with Peramiho Abbey, the discouraging death rate of infants. The hospital is there to help, but determining the cause of the suffering for infants is the greatest challenge: malnutrition, AIDS, dehydration, yellow fever, cholera. It is an explanation (surely not the only one) to the negative contribution of the Benedictine presence in Ruvuma. Nonetheless, a simple ‘urban’/’rural’ division does not sufficiently recognize the complexities of urban development in countries like Tanzania, where much urban growth is highly informal (Wenban-Smith, 2014). Therefore, the impact of urbanization on infant mortality may not be as clear as once understood due to the gradations of the urban experience.

Another finding from this research is the indispensable value of civil society to meeting the needs of the rural poor in southern Tanzania. The civil society sector in Tanzania is a fairly significant force by developing and transitional country standards, but its size falls well below that of more economically developed countries (Kiondo, Ndumbaro, Sokolowski, and Salamon, 2004) Take away the hospitals and schools funded and operated by the Benedictines and there would be a sizeable gap in social service delivery in the southern region of Tanzania.

51 percent of all Tanzanian civil society organization workers – paid and volunteer—are engaged in service activities. The workforce is more or less equally distributed among the four components that constitute the service field: social services (16 percent), community development and housing (13 percent), education (12 percent), and health (10 percent) (Kiondo, et al, 2004). This research supports the observed phenomena of civil society at work improving the lives of the rural poor. The Catholic Church, under whose purvey the Benedictines fall, is joined by other Christian

denominations in providing poor relief services. A related example, in Latin America, demonstrates the influence of civil society in Guatemala.

Until the 1970s Guatemala was a staunchly Catholic country. When Protestant aid agencies rushed in after a massive earthquake in 1976, the faith gained a substantial foothold. After the country's bloody civil war ended in 1996 it spread as if unshackled. Guatemalans took to the faith for many reasons, says Virginia Garrard of the University of Texas, but upheaval had a lot to do with it. The civil war represented a definitive break with the past: when so much had been destroyed anyway, losing your Catholic heritage meant less. At a time of painful economic dislocation, people who felt that Catholicism and liberation theology had failed them turned to an aspirational faith that promised a new upward mobility. With a low bar to entry and almost no hierarchy, new Pentecostal churches matched the entrepreneurial spirit of the times.

Can they remake not just villages but whole countries and their economies?

Pentecostals have traditionally been suspicious of politics as too "worldly" and of development work as too long-term. But in Guatemala and elsewhere some are now mobilizing for social change.

Guatemala remains poor and desperate. Many people do not vote or pay tax; only a tiny fraction of murder investigations lead to convictions. The country lags behind the rest of Latin America on many development indicators. "Guatemala tests the limits of religion as an agent of change," says Kevin O'Neill of Toronto University. "It's not that the religion is ineffectual. It has changed a lot in society. It's just that it has not changed things measurable by the metrics we use, such as security, democracy and economy."

Protestants in the developing world are often among the poorest members of society, living in places with endemic corruption.

(<https://www.economist.com/news/essay/21730868-stand>)

Civil society through FBOs can improve the lives of the marginalized rural populations. Latin America is a place where Christianity in all its representations is being felt by rural populations. In sub-Saharan Africa, expanding Christianity is supported by a Benedictine presence. The state of the Catholic Church worldwide positions sub-Saharan Africa as a place of growing evangelization.

With 16 percent of the world's Catholics now living in Africa, the church's future, many say, is here. The Catholic population in Africa grew nearly 21 percent between 2005 and 2010, far outstripping other parts of the world. While the number of priests in North America and Europe declined during the same period, in Africa they grew by 16 percent. The seminaries, clerical officials here say, are bursting with candidates, and African priests are being sent to take over churches in former colonial powers.

And, this research validates that the presence of a Catholic FBO can benefit the rural poor.

In this way the church is fulfilling a role it played in its distant European past, providing for the people where the state cannot, but some question whether the African church's growth and size can be sustained as the continent's institutions develop.

"Almost every system has collapsed," said Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah of Sokoto, in northwestern Nigeria. "The entire architecture of governance has collapsed. The church remains the only moral force.

“The church offers the best schools, social services, medicine. The God talk in Africa is a mark of the failure of the economic, social and political system,” Bishop Kukah added, “We are being called left, right and center to mend the broken pieces of what are considered the failing states of Africa.”

“When people say Africa is the future, I say, ‘Oh, isn’t it the past?’” said the Rev. Thomas J. Reese, a senior fellow at the Woodstock Theological Center at Georgetown University. “I see it as a repeat of the past, what happened in Europe centuries ago. What’s going to happen in Africa when everybody gets a television set, when modernity comes?” (<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/24/world/africa/catholic-church-fills-growing-void-in-africa.html>)

This again harkens back to history and the literature that shows a pattern of monastic presence in rural, underdeveloped areas of the world throughout the centuries. Another finding of this research is that the Benedictine presence is largely unrecognized as an effective participant in economic development. Even developed countries, namely the United States, are slow to see the benefits of FBOs. As the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development states:

Faith-based organizations are more numerous and diverse than is commonly recognized. Current public conversations about the possible role of faith-based organizations in community life often assume that these organizations are local worship communities, commonly called congregations.² In fact, many other types of organizations are faith-based. One useful typology (Castelli and McCarthy, 1997) divides faith-based groups into three sets: (1) congregations; (2) national networks, which include national denominations, their social service arms (e.g., Catholic Charities, Lutheran

Social Services), and networks of related organizations (such as YMCA and YWCA); and (3) freestanding religious organizations (which are incorporated separately from congregations and national networks but have a religious basis).

Each of these categories includes organizations that are quite diverse.

Congregations may be affiliated with more than 200 denominations, and vary in size, membership, and so forth. Denominational organizations include entities directly involved in church governance, such as a Roman Catholic archdiocese, and a variety of special purpose organizations such as seminaries, religious orders, and pension funds for clergy. Their service agencies include both decentralized multi-service providers such as the Jewish Federations and specialized service institutions, e.g., a United Methodist Hospital, Notre Dame University. National networks include special-purpose groups formed to mobilize the energies of individuals and congregations around projects and specific goals like Habitat for Humanity and the Christian Coalition (Hall, 1999), increasingly referred to as parachurch organizations. Freestanding organizations can be as simple as an independent nonprofit organization spun off by a congregation to pursue a particular ministry (e.g., a CDC or a substance abuse program) or as complex as an interfaith or ecumenical coalition of congregations or clergy.³

Recently, there has been greater recognition and value given to the contributions of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in providing social services. Historically, FBOs have been particularly prominent in providing food, clothing, and shelter to people in need.

<https://www.huduser.gov/publications/pdf/faithbased.pdf>

There are historical theories that suggest catalytic settlements in underdeveloped areas that led to growth and higher economic development. The Von

Thünen Theory is one such historical explanation that elucidates the positive impacts of a monastic presence. The model consists of concentric rings defined by land rent – essentially the cost of production, distance, transport cost, etc. He assumed a settlement surrounded by wilderness, no rivers, the beloved-by-settlement pattern-theorists “uniform plain.” This matches the preferred locations for monastic foundation, generally the more remote, the better. Each ring was defined by value and cost to market products (land rent). So, fresh veggies and fruit in nearest ring, quaintly today-fire wood in the next ring – perishable turned into durable and efficient to transport. In reality, the uniform plain given to uneven terrain, the industrial revolution brought roads, railroads, canals and forever altered his theory...sort of. Fluid milk for the urban market tends to be produced in reasonable proximity, cheeses and butter in dairy areas like upstate NY, Wisconsin. Population density and roads now lead location analysis, and there is a propensity for like land uses to cluster (automobile row, industrial park) with planning [or lack thereof] shaping the settlement pattern. Von Thünen's theory still applies in underdeveloped parts of the world, but his basic premise has been outdated in more developed areas. (Sinclair, 1967)

Another useful theory would be the Settlement and Expansion – Core Model.

- Core. This is original settlement (at any scale, Yankee village, Mormon region, etc.) Usually, but not always, value based.
- Expansion. Development out from the core, often supportive of core activities but may have distinct districts within such as manufacturing area. Shape may become different/unique along transportation – road, river.

Medieval European examples abound of monasteries becoming the core of future towns and cities. Within the United States we have the example of LaTrobe, PA! In lieu of the monastic presence, Tanzania is enjoying the fruits of concerted efforts to improve the quality of life for its citizenry. As it is understood, sometimes all boats do rise with the tide. Even when the dominant narrative of the region was slow growth with some good reason, quality of life measures were actually improving. Gains in education and health have finally started to feed through into improved economic performance.

Presently, a new emerging theme is Sub-Saharan Africa, afflicting one of Tanzania's closest neighbors, Kenya, is obesity. This epidemic will change the education and healthcare delivery systems that were initially equipped for an underdeveloped country, to one for an emerging country.

"In terms of Africa, obesity is a growing problem. Some countries are really experiencing high levels," said Shane Norris, head of the new African Centre for Obesity Prevention, which launched in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

Although statistics are scarce, the World Health Organization estimates that 12.7% of African children will be overweight or obese by 2020, compared with 8.5% in 2010. Obesity is linked to increased risk of heart disease, type-2 diabetes, high blood pressure and other chronic conditions.

Norris argued that unless the issue was addressed soon, obesity levels on the continent would become as high as those in Europe and North America – an unintended side-effect of Africa's economic growth.

“Some countries are already experiencing quite high levels of obesity, others aren’t,” he said. “[But] the trend is that more and more African countries, as they economically develop, will face obesity-related challenges.

“We can’t stop economic growth and we wouldn’t want to, but how can we put other things in place to counter the potential ill-health effects of the economic development?” (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/17/africa-faces-up-to-obesity-epidemic>)

In this chapter the Benedictine presence in the southern region of Ruvuma and Rukwa has been shown to impact the primary school completion rates and infant mortality. Statistical analysis yielded less conclusive explanations to the hypotheses, but it did support underlying literature. Moreover, the selected independent variables were further supported by this research as factors in explaining primary school completion rates and infant mortality. What has become clear in this research is that government funding alone cannot account for the positive trajectories of primary school completion rates and infant mortality rates.

CHAPTER VI – Conclusions and the Road Forward

This research is not about explaining the differences in delivery or social services between missionary organizations in the wealthier northern and poorer southern regions. It is about the impact of a particular segment of civil society in the southern regions, Benedictine monasteries. Although the government does more in the wealthier northern regions, the research has shown that the Benedictine monasteries in the southern region take on a larger role in the social and economic life of the communities. The monasteries are the factor contributing to similar outcomes even with less funding from the government. This research illuminates the partnership of a particular civil society actor in achieving developmental goals and delivery outcomes.

Benedictine monasticism has positively impacted civil society in the southern regions of Ruvuma and Rukwa in Tanzania. In particular, educational attainment measured by primary school completion rates have increased due to the presence of monastic schools in the rural southern regions. Infant mortality, also, has been reduced resulting from monastic presence in the forms of clinics, hospitals, and health education outreach.

FBOs, like Benedictine monasteries, quietly preserve with their apostolates, with or without the financial support of government agencies. These organizations, with government approval to operate but without substantive funding, were able to achieve similar results in areas of Tanzania deprived of infrastructure and consistent governmental administrative attention.

Historically, the monk is a very strange kind of person, a marginalized person. Although, within the modern society of the West, the monk no longer has an

established place in society. He has withdrawn from society to deepen his and others' human experience. This does not negate his importance in society.

Revisiting centuries of history in Europe and the North American continent (paragons of development), there are examples of monastic presence that have strengthened modernization and what more recently is called development in once rural and undeveloped regions. In Europe and America there are many examples of remains of, or functioning, monasteries right in the middle of modern cities. The phenomena of movement by people in once rural areas near to the monastery have encouraged this evolution from village to town to big city.

While most monasteries started off as places of austerity, with hard working God-obeying monks, that situation had changed. As we saw above gone were the days of hard working monks, instead serfs were used for that and the missionary status of the monasteries rapidly disappeared. The monasteries were no longer the basic centres of piety and work (*ora et labora*) and instead had become secular and were only looking after themselves. While all monks were supposed to be equal, the abbots had become lordly, eating the best food, having luxurious rooms, servants and all the trappings of richness. (<http://paulbuddehistory.com/europe/missionaries-and-monasteries/>)

As most city dwellers understand, water is important for a habitable workspace, house, and sewage systems. The use of complex water systems in the High Middle Ages was a phenomenon that occurred throughout Europe. Several monastic houses in Lotharingia also had complex water systems by the twelfth century (Magnusson, 2003). Most of the complex water systems of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were associated

with monasteries (Magnusson, 2003). If this phenomenon did not start a city, it most definitely attracted people in numbers who were in sore need of sanitation and water.

It is true that monasteries were centers of evangelization, but this did not mean that the monks left the monasteries with great frequency. People came to the monastery in ancient times. Monks remained and lived their lives within the monastery. And, the missionary monk was a man who stayed in his monastery. Monasteries as centers for learning, particular cloister schools for boys, were the only educational options in the Middle Ages. There were no state schools. In rural Tanzania today, we find a similar phenomenon. There are fewer state schools or resources, and Benedictine monasteries are filling in the educational gaps. Monasteries of old were centers of agriculture because they had the dedicated manpower to cultivate and harvest the land. Monasteries were also landowners and employers. One has just to think of the company town in 20th century America to fully grasp the comparison. Places whereby industry was the draw for settlement: automobiles, steel, coal, tool and die, meat processing, even aerospace technology. People who lived near ancient monasteries, and those who live near present day monasteries in Tanzania, were taught skills and arts.

Politically, *All the King's Men*, Robert Penn Warren's novel about a populist political figure in the American South during the 1930s, would possibly find a forerunner in the abbots who sat in parliament within the governments of their episcopate! The lords spiritual, one of the two types of Lords sitting in the medieval House of Lords. The lords spiritual were the bishops and abbots. Not many abbots were ever summoned to Parliament and most never attended.

Benedictine monasteries in Tanzania resemble in many aspects their medieval precursors. This is not to say that development within the modern Tanzanian context will tract closely with that of developed cities like Latrobe, PA (Saint Vincent Archabbey, is a Roman Catholic Benedictine Monastery in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania in the city of Latrobe. A member of the American-Cassinese Congregation, it is the oldest Benedictine monastery in the United States and the largest in the Western Hemisphere) or Le Mont Saint-Michel (The island has held strategic fortifications since ancient times and since the 8th century AD has been the seat of the monastery from which it draws its name. The structural composition of the town exemplifies the feudal society that constructed it: on top, God, the abbey and monastery; below, the great halls; then stores and housing; and at the bottom, outside the walls, houses for fishermen and farmers). A college or university, based on the monastic traditions of scholarship, attract people who settle near the institution and ultimately form a lasting community. Allegheny College, for example, in Western Pennsylvania could not have survived its founding and 200 plus year tradition without the support and political will of the City of Meadville. And, many argue the same is true in reverse.

The Tanzanian government is making strides in poverty relief, but it cannot meet the needs of the rural poor alone.

By nature, the health sector is poverty reduction responsive. It takes care of the sick and it advises and assists the healthy to stay healthy. The majority of those who come to seek for health care come from the poor segment of the population. Poverty begets ill health and ill health begets poverty. The majority of the poor 60% live in the rural areas and 40% of the poor live in septic fringes of the urban areas (squatters).

According to Vision 2025, the Poverty Eradication Strategy 2010 and subsequent Poverty Reduction Strategy (1999), the health sector is among the 14 sectors, which are central to poverty reduction. The investments in the sector have subsequently increased from 10.1% of the Government budget to 14% in the last three years. When the reforms implementation started, the budget was 3.46 USD per capita; progressively, it has increased to 6 USD per capita by 2002. (THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA MINISTRY OF HEALTH, Second Health Sector Strategic Plan (HSSP) (July 2003-June 2008))

What we can conclude from this research is that Benedictine monasticism has a seat at the table for discussions and projects concerning economic development in the communities in which it is present. It is not to say that monasticism is a panacea for all, or even most, development woes and pitfalls. But, to disregard the impacts of a monastic community with an active apostolate to poor rural communities is a missed opportunity for multinational, bilateral, government, NGOs, complimentary FBOs and local economic development actors. Moreover, operationalizing the Benedictine experience in Tanzania to neighboring Zambia speaks to a broader recognition to Benedictine monasticism and economic development in different cultural milieus.

The Benedictine Sisters in Erie, PA exemplify this dissemination of influence through work with The Alliance for International Monasticism (AIM USA). An organization comprised of approximately 115 Benedictine/Cistercian monasteries of men and women in the United States and Canada and over 400 communities in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who follow the Rule of Benedict.

AIM USA promotes cooperation and solidarity among monasteries throughout the world. Monasteries in the United States and Canada respond to the needs of monasteries in developing countries by providing spiritual and financial assistance which facilitates the education and formation of their members. In turn, these monasteries become vibrant communities and centers of life for others.

Monasteries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America enrich their sisters and brothers in the United States and Canada with global vision, fresh insights into monastic life, cultural diversity, and gospel witness of service to the poor. This cooperation of monasteries includes Benedictine and Buddhist monasteries as well. The next chapter will explore further research questions such as the impact of female monastics, The White Fathers, monastic influence on other aspects of economic development, political involvement of monastic orders, and a continuation of Weberian themes of religious culture on society.

In this concluding chapter further research questions are discussed. No researcher is completely satisfied with the laser sharp focus because a plethora of other questions arise as he tried to find answers to his sole focus. One glaring question is the influence of the monastic presence by gender. Monks and sisters have been actors in the economic development of Southern Tanzania. This research, sadly, only focused on the male contributions to health and education. There is a rich and colorful history of monastic women as well.

February 2, 1895 Fr. Maurus Hartmenn together with two brothers and Sr. Birgitta Korff, Sr. Klara Essmann, Sr. Afra Gillot, Sr. Bernardine Hefele opened the first mission station in Lukuledi, Tanganyika Inland. Sr. Birgitta was elected first Prioress General of the Sisters' Congregation in the same year and had to leave soon.

In 1898 the community of Sisters was transferred to Nyangao due to shortage of water: Sr. Walburga Diepolder, Sr. Hiltrudies Herz and Sr. Viola Albrecht. Their house of sun burned bricks survived the destruction of the mission during the Maji Uprising. Our Sisters are still living in the oldest house of the Congregation.

August 29, 1905 the warriors of the Maji war stormed the Nyangao mission and burned down all buildings. All missionaries took flight into the bush in order to reach Lindi at the coast. Sr. Bernardine Hefe, Sr. Walburga Diepolder, Sr. Avia Marschner and Sr. Helena Lettner were together with some orphan children. Sr Walburga prayed loud: "Beloved Jesus, take my life, save the others!" as Sr. Bernhardine reports. Sr. Walburga was wounded in the waist and could not follow. She was killed together with some orphans. Only part of her red belt and her Rule of Benedict were found at the site of her death, not her body. These relics are now in the archives in Rome.

September 14, 1908 The Ndanda Sisters Convent was opened with Sr. Bernardine Hefe, Sr. Helena Lettner; Sr. Hieronyma Holtkamp, Sr. Hedwig Hirschberg, Sr. Evangelista Engels and Sr. Candida Eisele. The Sisters were engaged in caring for the sick, giving education to girls, managing all the domestic chores for the monks.

(<http://www.mbsmissionaries.org/africa/tanzania/ndanda/history.html>)

The monastic story in Southern Tanzania is incomplete without the narrative of the Missionary Benedictine Sisters founded in Tutzing, Germany, in 1885. The hospitals in the southern regions, although administered and financed by the monks of Ndanda and Peramiho Abbeys, are staffed by Tutzing Sisters in large part. Furthermore, their outreach to girls and young women have made contributions to economic development that are worthy of further research. The Tutzing Sisters are not

limited in their role of economic development to simply health and education; they are also involved with their male counterparts in a host of other activities.

Historically, Pope Leo XIII sanctioned the missions to eastern Africa beginning in 1884. In 1879 Catholic missionaries associated with the White Father Congregation (Society of the Missionaries of Africa) came to Uganda and others went to Tanzania. In recent times, the White Fathers have concentrated their missionary activities in the Northern Tanzania, while the Benedictines have maintained a presence in the Southern Tanzania. Infant mortality and educational attainment may be influenced not only by the presence of FBOs, but also the degree to which their delivery systems differ. Further research may illuminate how the different approaches employed by two originally colonial-based FBOs have impacted economic development indicators.

The monasteries of Peramiho, Ndanda, Hanga, and Mvimwa in southern Tanzania operate many workshops that provide goods and services to the surrounding communities and to other parts of the country. The German monks established wood workshops that produce furniture from the abundant supply of lumber in the regions. Men and women are trained to be carpenters and wood craftsmen. Sewing classes and tailor shops serve the monasteries and outside consumers. Women, and some men, train in the making of clothes. Leather workshops, electronic workshops, auto mechanical workshops, publishing and printing presses, agricultural produce (cashews that were sold to foreign markets, for example), and animal husbandry are all managed by monks and staffed by local residents. Ndanda monastery provides housing for some of its workers, and, homebuilding, too, is an economic activity that the monastery undertakes for the community. There are many ventures that the monastery undertakes to support itself.

The monasteries are financially independent, but they are not self-sufficient requiring funding from German donors. Herein lies another interesting research question as to how German philanthropy has influenced economic development in the southern regions of Tanzania.

It is no secret that the late President Julius Nyerere was a Catholic. He also was trained and educated in Catholic missionary schools. His scheme for Ujamaa attempted to mimic the workings of the missionary monks in Songea, according to Brother Gregory of Hanga Abbey in a 2011 conversation. Abbot Doerr has spoken publicly about the warm relationship between the first post-independence president of the country, and how the President relied upon the monasteries to meet the needs of the people in the rural areas of the country when those remote areas were hard to reach or were delegated lower priorities of administrators in cities and other government hubs. Although not political, monks have influenced politics in Tanzania. Monks in other parts of the world have played a role in political support, resistance, and protest. Tibetan Buddhists have killed themselves through self-immolation, at least 100 inside Chinese-governed Tibet.

Lobsang Sangay, the prime minister of the Tibetan government in exile, expressed sadness about the self-immolation in Nepal and said his administration had asked Tibetans not to take drastic actions. But he also placed the blame for such acts on the Chinese government.

“The occupation of Tibet and repression of Tibetans are the primary reason for the self-immolations inside Tibet,” Mr. Sangay said by e-mail while visiting the United States. “The solution to the tragedy in Tibet lies with Beijing, and my administration is fully committed to dialogue and to address the issue peacefully.”

(<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/14/world/asia/100th-self-immolation-inside-tibet-is-reported.html>)

Church officials serve as advocates for the poor and purposefully engage politicians in hopes of establishing support for their apostolates to the poor. Targeting Catholic Parliamentarians and the Parliamentarians Liaison Officers from East Africa countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and a representation from East Africa Legislative Assembly. Among other participants of the retreat was Hon Sarah Bonaya, of EALA, a Kenyan Member of Parliament Hon. Thomas Mwadeghu, Parliamentary Liaison Officers, Parliamentarians Chaplains, Center for Social Justice and Ethics (CSJE), Catholic Members of Parliament Spiritual Support Initiative in Kenya (CAMPSSI (K)). The purpose of this retreat was to help the parliamentarians to understand their Christian obligations in contributing to the welfare of the people (<http://ameceajusticeandpeace.blogspot.com/2012/08/amecea-justice-and-peace-structures.html>). Max Weber explored more than a century ago the synergies between religious organizations and societal outcomes such as wealth accumulation. The increase of GDP is a concern within developing countries and the role FBOs have in this economic upturn is another question for further research.

This research has revealed greater opportunities of collaboration between civil society agents and the government to provide needed social services. Although the extent of this research did not allow for in depth investigation of specific models of civil society and government collaboration addressing infant mortality and education, there is a model with policy recommendations constructed for water delivery Hanga Monastery employs

that can be foundational for future policy involving monasteries and government and non-governmental entities.

Water scarcity is a growing issue around the globe. Yet, in places where there is water, particularly in the developing world, the challenge becomes one of potable water for consumption, bathing, and cooking. The researcher has experience in the former Zaire as a Peace Corps volunteer in the late 1980s organizing a small community in Kiringe, Zaire to invest time, energy and resources to building a gravity flow water system to provide clean drinking water to the community. The process required a great deal of education about the perils of surface water, coordination with an European Union development organization and a regional hospital, and trust and cooperation of villagers, who had little foreknowledge that this young engineer was to come to their village and to assist in this important aspect of community life. The researcher was assigned to a project to provide clean water to the villagers of Kiringe between 1989 and 1990. Decades later another water project executed in neighboring Tanzania would have as its genesis a priest's visit to Oregon and aid that generous Americans were willing to provide.

The Clean Water Project was the passion and brainchild of Father Pirmin. This African priest, who was also a monk at Hanga Abbey, travelled through Oregon visiting many parishes to raise money to purchase water pipes. The pipes were used to build gravity flow water systems to carry water from the surrounding mountains and into the villages surrounding Hanga, Tanzania. Fr. Pirmin observed that many peasants live their entire lives in East Africa without ever tasting fresh drinking water. Tragically, there is a high mortality rate associated with this lack of clean drinking water. The researcher has

attended a handful of funerals of small children who died of dehydration from diarrhea because of want of clean drinking water. A disease caused by poor drinking water is as much of a killer as malaria in East Africa.

With a supportive international, national, and local network, Father Pirmin's efforts have provided many villages in Hanga, Tanzania with fresh drinking water. The mortality rate has dropped dramatically; and his efforts have improved health and ultimately have saved lives (<http://www.catholicdigitalstudio.com/hangaabbey.htm>). This model explores the problem from a policy standpoint and to seek understanding of how Fr. Pirmin's efforts have contributed to attracting a group of participants who have created an institution to address the need for clean water. Faith-based organizations face many policy problems when responding to the needs of the poor within their communities.

What is the policy problem?

Faith-based organizations' response to basic needs of communities, within the broader context of the NGO world, merits substantive analysis. The role can be either problematic in the pursuance of country development goals and policies or promotional of those same goals and policies. Hanga Abbey promoted the construction, distribution and management of a clean water delivery system. Additionally, Hanga Abbey functioned as an advocate for greater nutrition, health, and employment opportunities with respect to construction of a water system which has been discussed earlier.

Ian Smillie and Larry Minear speak to the growing awareness of the impact of NGOs, faith-based and secular humanitarian, on the delivery of aid. Surprisingly, some NGOs have budgets larger than their host countries ministries' budget with whom they

coordinate. In the case of Hanga Abbey, the budget may not be larger. But, the Abbey's budget is more targeted to the special needs of the community surrounding it. Financial resources are just one aspect of a complex problem of providing basic needs. There are many other aspects of the delivery of aid.

Choosing a Policy Framework

The researcher applies the Institutional and Analysis Development (IAD) framework for this specific policy problem. The IAD framework proves to be a suitable framework because it creates a “general language about how rules, physical and material conditions, and attributes of community affect the structure of action arenas, the incentives that individuals face, and the resulting outcomes” (Sabatier 1999).

Ostrom's Action Arena

According to Ostrom, “Whenever two or more individuals are faced with a set of potential actions that jointly produce outcomes, these individuals can be said to be ‘in’ an action situation.” (Ostrom, 2005). For this analysis, the action situation is Hanga, Tanzania and the specific action situation is meeting the need for clean, accessible drinking water.

Claiming hundreds of children and expectant mothers each year, the streams of Southern Tanzania near Hanga have become known as “rivers of death”. The diseases contracted each year from these rivers' contaminated waters have been fatal to those who have no choice but to drink the water. (Catholic PRWire, 2007) The need for potable water, is met by the participants: Hanga Abbey, Engineers Without Borders, the Ministry of Water, and the local government. All the participants work together to ameliorate the drinking water situation for the community.

This analysis will begin with the identification of participants. After identifying the participants, exploration of the intent of interaction, potential outcomes and types of control will be addressed. Next, information generated by interactions between participants will be described. A discussion about the overall performance of the system and the adaptive system will create a roadmap for future action arena development.

The Participants

Hanga Abbey was founded as a Monastery in 1957 in Hanga, Ruvuma Region, Tanzania. It is the first “all African” monastery, following the Rule of St. Benedict; its self-proclaimed mission is to meet the spiritual and material demands of the people within Tanzania.

Engineers Without Borders is an international organization with chapters at colleges and universities that supports community-driven development programs worldwide through the design and implementation of sustainable engineering projects while fostering responsible leadership. The organization’s vision is to be recognized and respected as an international organization whose members deliver sustainable solutions to developing communities worldwide and make use of their diverse technical expertise to solve critical problems affecting the health of our planet. As an overarching goal these professionals see a world where all people have access to the knowledge and resources with which to meet their basic human needs and rise out of poverty (Engineers Without Borders, 2010).

The Ministry of Water, a branch of the Government of Tanzania, has a vision to achieve a sustainable water resources and livestock development and management which is responsive to the needs, interests and priorities of the Tanzania population, both in

rural and urban areas by the year 2025. Furthermore, the Ministry's mission is to ensure that water resources management and development are carried out in collaboration with all stakeholders in an economically, environmentally and socially sustainable manner (2010, <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/water.htm>).

The village chairmanship or local government is vital as a participant. This person represents the local governing structure and traditional community hierarchy. Although the other participants have achieved some level of buy-in from the community; the village governmental structure has the greatest proximity and overall stake in the success of the clean water project.

Potential Outcomes

Delivery of clean water will affect approximately 29,000 people in the area. (Catholic PRWire, 2007). Lowered illnesses and a decreased death rate associated with poor quality drinking water would be a primary outcome. Better overall health would also lead to improved productivity with respect to other enterprises within the greater Hanga community. Moreover, healthier children would be in a better position to learn and absorb lessons in schools. Care for the sick would improve as a potential outcome because relatives and service providers would be able to give their loved ones and patients water that would improve their health, rather than further deteriorate it. Another outcome of actions is a greater technical capacity and skills transfer to the populous through employment to lay pipe and build the necessary infrastructure.

By allowing and supporting the local initiative, the Ministry of Water encourages local participation and problem solving. Hanga Abbey takes a role as the anchor development organization that is rooted in the community and will manage the overall

infrastructure once completed. The Engineers Without Borders' action will change in degree as the project progresses; initially serving in a heavily technical capacity, the organization's actions will diminish over time as the project matures and less technical assistance is required (as stipulated by their own mandate). The local government can serve as a more effective advocate for clean water project and its continued maintenance and evolution.

Control of Participants

With respect to the types of control the participants in each position can exercise over others in the action situation, the following ordering demarcates the progression of participants from greatest to least control: Ministry of Water, Hanga Abbey, Engineers Without Borders, and the local government. The Ministry could potentially block or redirect focus of the project through alternative projects and initiatives, such as water purification devices or individual well initiatives. The Ministry also has funding that it could withhold if the project is not in alignment with its focus and goals. Hanga Abbey is the most stable local institution in the area. Yet, without the support of its established infrastructure and sustainable model, the long-term viability of a clean water project is severely curtailed. Engineers Without Borders has technology but little to no political or social capital to execute its goals to improve the quality of water in the area. The organization is an invited participant, and frankly, an interchangeable (albeit expendable) one with respect to other possible technological partnerships. Due to the local government's lack of material and financial resources it is the weakest participant along this continuum of participants. The local government does, however, have social and

political capital that can sway the support of villagers to cooperate with actions by the other participants.

Types of Information Generated

The type of information generated by the interaction of participants varies from the purely educational exchange to technical transfer to managerial expertise to statistical data gathering. From an educational standpoint, The Ministry of Water communicates and receives information about the detrimental effects of poor water quality on the villagers. Engineers Without Borders work closely with Hanga Abbey on technical solutions and operational activities that will lead to the successful completion of the project. The financial and material needs information is generated by Hanga Abbey, Engineers Without Borders, and the Ministry of Water. And finally, statistics on health and mortality are generated between the local government, Hanga Abbey and the Ministry of Water. The information generated and the mosaic nature it represents is explained by Ostrom: “When information is less than complete, the question of who knows what at what juncture becomes very important. With incomplete information, how much any one individual contributes to a joint undertaking is often difficult for others to judge.” (Ostrom, 2005)

Overall Performance of the Situation

Through an evaluation of the interactions among the respective participants it can be concluded that the ‘system’ is disjointed and needs improvement. The fact that many communities had existing wells with broken pumps that had remained idle for over one year and received little to no government support demonstrates a weak interaction between the local government and the Ministry of Water. Additionally, there was no

knowledge within the villages pertaining to well or pump repair, another example of a weak interaction between the local and national government participants.

Hanga Abbey elaborates on its role as a participant in the action arena that illustrates another weak, but well intentioned, interaction between participants:

In the late 1970's, we became aware of the enormous need for a reliable source of clean and safe drinking water for the growing population of Hanga. Before this time, the villagers of Hanga were fetching their drinking water from the Hanga River or local streams. This act was very dangerous, because this water is filled with harmful bacteria and diseases and is not safe for drinking. Therefore, we took upon the vast project of building a 12 KM pipeline from a safe water source up in the neighboring mountains.

In the early 1980's, with funding from a German company, we started and completed phase one of this project by building a PVC pipeline that brought fresh and clean water to the villagers of Hanga. For this phase we employed local villagers as the labor force and our own monks devised the technical portion.

Unfortunately, in the late 1990's this pipeline not only began to deteriorate, but was not providing enough water for the community. Therefore, we initiated phase two by replacing the PVC piping with larger metal ones. During this phase we also placed three large holding tanks along the pipeline to help create the needed pressure. Although this phase has satisfied most of our water needs, we still have problems of not having enough water during the dry season. Therefore, we are looking into buying tanks for each of our schools so as to store water during the rainy season, so that we can have enough during the dry season. (Hanga Abbey, 2010)

The Adaptive System

Hanga Abbey took the initiative to improve the water situation in a way that was incongruous with the existing Ministry of Water policy. Not surprisingly, the earlier efforts of an enterprising German firm devised a short-term solution that provided some relief and employment to the village. Presently, Hanga Abbey is in partnership with

Engineers Without Borders, again, without coordination with the Ministry of Water. Will this repeated pairing of the Abbey with an outside technical provider without an overall strategy from the Ministry and local governments result in a similar obsolescence of the clean water system years from now?

Nevertheless, the initial actions of Hanga Abbey led to a redefined 'system' of interactions that adapted more appropriately to the changing environment in the wider action arena. Access to clean water was a problem and the Ministry of Water's solution of wells and pumps was not an adequate solution, especially for a growing population. The execution of an alternative solution by Hanga Abbey with the support of the local government and a local labor force was short-lived. Absent the Ministry of Water, Hanga Abbey and Engineers Without Borders are shouldering the challenges of the new clean water environment by financing, managing, and planning a clean water system with the assistance of the local populous. The Ministry of Water's contribution is still to be determined.

Hess and Ostrom describe in Understanding Knowledge as a Commons, the critical nature of the knowledge ecosystem. According to Hess and Ostrom, collective action is central to social development. And, as this action situation shows, there is a need to explore different modes of self-governance in managing resources (Hess and Ostrom 2007). Eventually, the participants should move towards the creation and management of a knowledge commons, shared resources, that will be essential to the sustainable provision of clean water.

The Creation of Networks

Policy Change Required

To prevent further sickness and to curb disease the government needs to revisit and alter its policy of solely drilling wells to establish clean water standards for its rural population, in particular the population in and around the vicinity of Hanga. Presently, the government policy of coordinator, as opposed to service provider, is not sufficient for the clean water needs of villagers. A policy change will involve all of the abovementioned agents in a concerted effort to provide drinking water. “Social agents... find themselves enmeshed in a web of connections with one another and, through a variety of adaptive processes; they must successfully navigate through their world.” (Miller and Page, 2007) A new policy takes into consideration the stability and the distanced based utility of the action situation (Jackson, 2008); Hanga Abbey is critical in both aspects.

Interactions Among Participants

Existing patterns of communication vary between agents. Communication between Hanga Abbey and the local government structure is far more frequent than any other communication between agents within the action situation. Hanga Abbey is involved in outreach to the neighboring people and those in very remote areas. Therefore, through interactions with villagers at its Dispensary, or through its transportation business, or through St. Benedict’s Secondary school, the Abbey has its finger on the pulse of the community. The Abbey is acutely aware of the connection between the lack of clean drinking water and public health.

The Oregon Institute of Technology – Engineers Without Borders Student Chapter was introduced to the project by Fr. Ildefonce Mapara, a member of Hanga Abbey (www.ewb-usa.org). Fr. Ildefonce was in Klamath Falls, Oregon coordinating support for projects in his home region. It was through his advocacy that the student organization became involved in the problem solving process. This exchange was opportunistic in nature, not repeatable, and by far the exchange with the shortest duration between the four agents.

The least frequent exchange occurs between the Engineers Without Borders and The Ministry of Water, that is, if they have had any exchange at all. The Ministry is changing its relationship with its constituents within the purview of water resources, moving from service provider to coordinator.

Hanga Abbey and the local government have similar periodic exchanges of communication with the Ministry of Water. This exchange may come on a more frequent basis than the exchange between Engineers Without Borders. Given the Ministry's position on helping communities help themselves, the pattern of communication would be initiated by Hanga Abbey and the local government with Engineer Without Borders as a participating agent, rather than the Ministry being the initiator.

The Engineers Without Borders travel team spent time evaluating local villages and identifying potential solutions for the distribution of water. The travel team assessed surrounding villages, and established a connection with local well manufactures, Abbey personnel, and village officials (Oregon Institute of Technology, Engineers Without Borders, 2009). This exchange lasted two weeks.

The Ministry of Water is following the existing Water Policy of 2002 for Tanzania. The main objective of this revised policy is to develop a comprehensive framework for sustainable development and management of the Nation's water resources. The policy aims at ensuring that beneficiaries participate fully in planning, construction, operation, maintenance and management of community based domestic water supply schemes. Also, the policy lays a foundation for sustainable development and management of water resources in the changing roles of the Government from service provider to that of coordination, policy and guidelines formulation, and regulation (http://www.maji.go.tz/about_us/policies.php). The Ministry is also charged to support and facilitate the participation of the private sector and other stakeholders in water supply and sanitation. The time periods and the lengths of the exchange between other agents and the Ministry of Water are inconsistent, insofar as it depends upon the proactive engagement of Hanga Abbey and the local government.

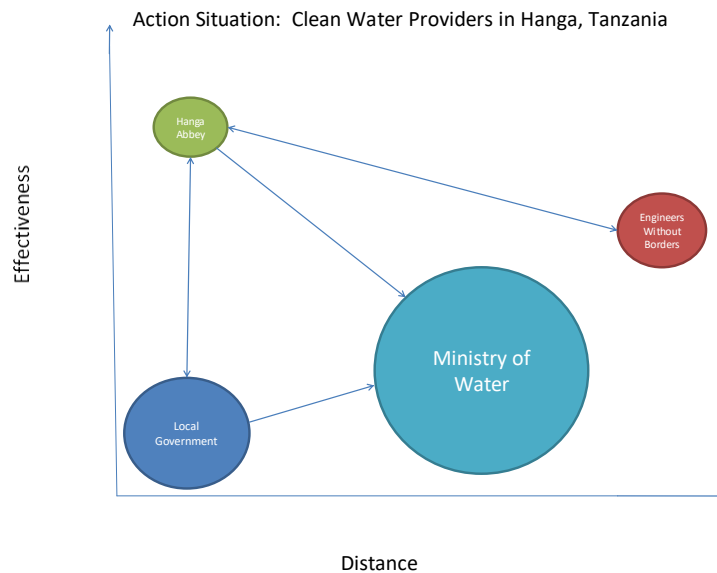
Miller and Page support the communication process between participants. Within organizations there is a transcendence of individual decision making processes. The overarching goal within this action arena is to process information for a larger action arena. Moreover, the effectiveness of the organizational design of the participants depends upon the conditions in the action arena. There is interdependency between design and action with the regulation of the flow of information being a key process. (Miller and Page, 2007)

The sizes of the participants (encompassing numbers of people within the organization and resources) and their proximity to the policy problem are illustrated in Figure 1. below. The arrows represent the lines of communication between the participants. Some

arrows are one way and others are two-way. Hanga Abbey has two way lines of communication with Engineers Without Borders and the local government. The Ministry of Water has only lines of communication in one direction and only with two participants. The highly connected participant in this action arena is Hanga Abbey.

Flow of Information

Figure 21. Relative resources and information flows of Clean Water Providers in Hanga, Tanzania



It is clear that every social agent receives information about the world, processes it, and acts (Miller and Page, 2007). The content of the information exchanged between Hanga Abbey and the local government is anecdotal and experiential in the form of the health status of villagers and morbidity. The information is absorbed in a continuous stream that supports the need for change in clean water policy. This interaction between

the abbey and the local government exhibits the greatest degree of homophily in the action situation (Jackson, 2008) because both the local government and the Abbey have a stake in the availability of clean water.

The content exchanged between the Engineers Without Borders and Hanga Abbey is based on specific engineering needs. The engineers and the monks exchange information about materials, designs, locations, and other technical aspects of the project. The assessment of future projects is another important aspect of the exchange: a proposed gravity fed water system from a river running through the village of Luhimbalilo and a water treatment system for the Hanga water supply (www.ewb-usa.org).

The types of content exchanged between the local government and the Ministry of Water is both quantitative and qualitative in nature. The Ministry of Water has a capacity and a mandate to monitor the state of existing wells and water resource schemes it has in place. Through the collection of data on these projects coupled with health statistics (in all likelihood provided by Hanga Abbey Dispensary) the government has a potentially robust data set in which to assess water needs for the villagers of Hanga. Visits by Ministry of Water officials and tours led by local government officials have the potential to add an additional layer to the content of the information exchanged.

Another type of content exchanged between the Ministry of Water and the local government and Hanga Abbey is fiduciary data, namely the funds required to construct and maintain water services within the communities. And, in reciprocity, Ministry of Water officials are at liberty to exchange information about financial resources available for water service projects with local government officials and Hanga Abbey.

There seems to be little to no exchange between Engineers Without Borders and The Ministry of Water, unless there is a type of technical debriefing with Ministry officials about proposals or findings in the action situation. The Ministry of Water does not have the resources to provide the technical assistance required by Hanga Abbey and the local government.

Gaps in the Process

Jackson refers to structural holes within networks denoting voids (Jackson, 2007). An obvious void in this network is funding. The process of exchange, particularly about funding, is curtailing the overall performance of the participating agents. Were the Ministry of Water appraised of the need and the potential solutions earlier or in tandem with its proposed well projects, it might have redirected funds to a more viable solution.

Hanga Abbey and the local government were not included in the overall planning of water delivery systems, thus exposing the Ministry of Water's inadequate plans (after those plans were executed). Notwithstanding, Hanga Abbey's information exchange with local government officials and an 'outlier' in Oregon, has enhanced the action situation. What is occurring is a poor process of information exchange between the Ministry of Water and the local government and Hanga Abbey. Balancing this weak interaction is a strong exchange between the local government and Hanga Abbey that leads to the introduction of a new agent within the network, Engineers Without Border

Filling The Voids

Communication between the Ministry of Water and Engineers Without Borders could be strengthened. Lessons learned about approaches to water service delivery and best practices based upon similar engineering challenges could be exchanged between the

two agents. Moreover, the Ministry of Water could include the local government and Hanga Abbey when planning new water resource initiatives for Hanga. The lessons learned from this exchange would be many: a more accurate needs assessment, a maintenance strategy, an educational component for villagers, and a better assessment for funding needs (labor and materials). Hanga Abbey and the local government could better coordinate their information and understanding of water needs in the future with the Ministry of Water. Lessons learned from this exchange could potentially afford the Ministry of Water, with a greater knowledge of the need, the ability to better represent Hanga and its distinct water needs to different funding sources for water projects. Through the exchanges about Hanga with larger multinational donors that bureaucrats within the Ministry of Water may often enjoy, new approaches to water delivery systems may be conceived for other parts of Tanzania.

The following action outline identifies the roles of agents and the timing of action steps within the action situation that would support a future policy change:

1. Hanga Abbey and the local government determine the water need. This can be achieved through records at the Dispensary and health statistics, such as death rates, kept by the local government.
2. Hanga Abbey and the local government present the Ministry of Water with a needs assessment. A face to face meeting with the Minister of Water or a representative in Hanga could be established on a periodic basis (for example, a yearly meeting). At the meeting, the local government and Hanga Abbey would present their case for water needs. A tour of the local hospital and existing water systems would allow the government policy makers the chance to see what works and what does not work.

3. The Ministry of Water, Hanga Abbey, and the local government identifies technical resources to meet the needs. Through a search process, not dissimilar to the one that attracted Engineers Without Borders to Hanga, these three agents would use their connections to attract the technical resources needed for the water services projects. Technical resources that come with funding would be given special consideration.

4. Hanga Abbey and the local government manage the project. Consistent with the Ministry of Water's role as coordinator of water services projects, accountability for the management of the project would be assigned to the closest agents. Lessons learned from this content exchange would include fiscal and budgetary skills transfer, managerial expertise, and increased community collaboration.

5. Technical providers, in this case, Engineers Without Borders, would work with all three agents to come up with best solutions for water delivery systems. Reports or joint studies conducted by the technical providers and the other agents would help to establish best practices. In addition, skills transfer and technological innovations (well manufacturers were included in the initial study) would result in the close working relationship between all three parties. The mode of communication would remain the same, an intensive two to three-week assessment; however, in working with representatives of the other agents, more creative solutions in delivery, construction, and maintenance have a greater probability of being conceived.

6. Joint funding is secured through efforts of all four agents. Through increased collaboration, commitment, and communication, a greater degree of goodwill is achieved by all four agents. Each agent is equipped to enlist other potential agents to support financially this action situation.

Strategies for Change

Engendering Trust

The interactions among the participants vary in intensity. An important aspect of the interactions is the degree of trust between the participants. Because trust is developed most easily in small social circles (Cook, Harden, Levi, 2005) the epicenter of trust for this problem is within the small social circle of Hanga, namely between Hanga Abbey and the local government. This catalytic trust has allowed Hanga Abbey representatives to solicit help on behalf of the local government. The local government and the population rely upon other services provided by Hanga Abbey, such as transportation, education, and health care thus increasing their levels of trust with Hanga Abbey.

However, levels of trust among participants changes as more participants enter into the “action system.” As the “action system” expands beyond jurisdictions the new participants face the emerging problem of diminishing trust. It has been observed that larger social systems afford less personal interaction thus resulting in fewer opportunities to determine trustworthiness (Cook, Harden, Levi, 2005). The Ministry of Water and Hanga Abbey do not have interactions with high degrees of trust in part because of their unbalanced relationship within the larger social system. It is observed that trust evolves most easily in near-equitable relationships; least easily in asymmetrical relations (Cook, Harden, Levi, 2005). Although there may be a growing sense of goodwill insofar as Hanga Abbey is an example of a local agent improving the quality of life for local people, there is a low level of trust based on this asymmetrical relationship between a

much larger and far reaching national entity and a small local organization. This may account for the behavior of a priest from Hanga residing in Oregon reaching out to foreigners rather than his own government for solutions to water problems.

Hanga Abbey's priests in the United States engendered a high degree of trust with Engineers Without Borders based upon repeated actions and credible commitments. This trust is manifest in Engineers Without Borders' willingness to solicit donations and funds for the project and to work with Hanga Abbey in its capacity as project manager.

Social capital was created between Engineers Without Borders and the local government through shared work and commitment to the goal of providing clean water to the population. Social capital increased through the network of social relations that enabled individuals to accomplish shared goals. (Cook, Harden, Levi, 2005) Engineers Without Border with the complicity of the local government worked with the local population to establish water assessments and identify technical solutions to meet the clean water needs of the community. Social capital was also built through the cooperation of Hanga Abbey, the local government, and Engineers Without Borders exhibiting the capacity of a group to act together to achieve specific goals. (Cook, Harden, Levi, 2005)

Emerging Organizational Structure

The organizational structure has promising capacity for sustainable action given the continued participation of Hanga Abbey and the Ministry of Water. The local government does not have the means, financially, organizationally, managerially to execute such an important public works project. The capacity for sustainable action is high for the community of Hanga because of the presence of Hanga Abbey. Hanga

Abbey has a network of outside resources and assistance, an advantage not shared by the local government and to a smaller extent to the Ministry of Water. However, the capacity for sustainable action is low to moderate for other communities within Tanzania based upon the networks established and the strength, commitment, and trust developed between other participants for solutions to clean water needs. The Ministry of Water is not in a position to be a strong, unilateral agent to effect change or promote sustainability at this time; it openly declares this in its mission statement. The capacity for sustainable action in this policy arena is dependent upon the strength of the network and the strength of the individual actors. Hanga Abbey can promote a change, but the change cannot be sustained without the established network.

But the effect of her being on those around her was incalculably diffusive: for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.

George Eliot, Middlemarch

APPENDIX A - Transcribed Interviews

Interviews conducted on March 3, 8, and 10, 2011

Informant A

Interviewer: We are recording now. Yes, we are. Okay. My first question is...AIM – how long have you been involved in AIM?

I've been involved – I've been on the board since I became abbot, which would have been – My first meeting would have been in October of 2005, and I will be finishing up my term on the board this coming October. So it'll be six years. It's two three-year terms and then you have to rotate off.

Interviewer: And how did you get involved in AIM?

I was nominated by Sister Kathy Huber from Ferdinand who was on the board and just went off the board, in fact. She knew that we here at St. [unintelligible] have hosted several students from Africa, a couple countries in Africa – currently from Togo – I should speak louder – currently from Togo. And we have provided theological education for them so that they can go back to their monasteries and work in their own country in their own monastery. So she knew we here at St. [unintelligible] had some international experience with monasticism in Africa, and so she thought we would be a good board member. Whether or not that qualified me, I don't know, but that was her reasoning, so, yeah.

Interviewer: Could you explain more that connection between Africa and the monastery here? Has that been an ongoing thing, or is that something which you've instated or other abbots have instated?

That began before my tenure as an abbot. I can't remember exactly, John. It may have been, if not Abbot Lambert – if not Abbot Timothy, certainly Abbot Lambert, although I think it was actually Abbot Timothy. We began by hosting a couple students from – I can't remember. I'm not sure. I think it might have been Zimbabwe. And then once other abbots in this country who had contact in Africa knew about this, then they would approach either abbot Lambert or me and ask about the possibility of other houses, as well, coming to study here. So that's probably been going on for 15 years, yeah. We haven't always had somebody here every year in those 15 years, but for a good number of them, we have hosted, I would say, over the years probably a total of 8 to 10 monks from other houses in Africa.

Interviewer: Given that brief description of that exchange between African monks and St. [unintelligible], how does AIM function in your view?

AIM is actually an international organization. The French would be, aide inter-monastère, and so in English it gets translated to...not that. What is it in English? [laughs] Alliance for International Monasticism. And in this country, we are really the American secretariat for the international organization. So we're not a separate organization from the International AIM; we're simply American secretariat for that organization. We work with the international AIM board that has international representation and is actually, in a kind of overseeing sense, directed by the Abbott Primate in Rome, Abbot Notker Wolf. And so we – There are several programs established in the American secretariat. There has been – I should back up a little bit, too, John. It has been hosted by a couple different communities already in this country. Erie being the latest, and for a good number of years it's been at Erie. It previously had

been at Clyde, Missouri. And one of the real great programs, I think, that has come out of the American secretariat is the monastery-to-monastery program, and that is women's communities. It's limited to women's communities in Africa. And American Benedictine women volunteer to go over to a particular community in Africa, depending upon whatever their need may be, and this may be for instruction in the rule, maybe dealing with liturgy, maybe dealing with community organization, English, anything like that. Whatever they need, we try and match up someone who will go over for three months, four months, to live with them and help them out. Obviously, we also support AIM monetarily. We do participate – St. [unintelligible] participates in various mission collections where we would send speakers or preachers to countries – excuse me, to dioceses in this country who are open to having missionary appeals in their diocese. So we do help with that. We fund particular projects for which communities apply, and they would have some medium – they might need a very primitive water system. They would apply for a grant for that, whatever it might be – electricity, a generator. All those kinds of needs for their own house, we try to respond to.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. You've very thoroughly answered the question about "How does AIM function?" and given some specifics, but I'm gonna ask the question again. What sorts of things does AIM do in your view? How do you see them behaving? What do they do?

The purpose really, or the aim, was to establish relationships with communities – monastic communities in the third world, and by doing those things that I've described, I think we hope to help the third world monasteries gain a solid identity as monastics for themselves, because there are communities who were [unintelligible] and became

Benedictines without a great deal of formation as Benedictines. So when we do help them, as I mentioned earlier, the possibility of formation, it gives them a share in the broader identity of what it means to be Benedictine in the world. The other important, I think, aspect of that is – and this has been a particular contribution of the American secretariat, which is why in English it was changed to Alliance – they are an ally of ours. And so we learn, too, about their culture and how monasticism can become acculturated in a situation of circumstances very different from a first world monastery. That particularly has been a very great gift to St. [unintelligible], by having the presence of those monks from Africa living with us in the community. They have given us a very good look into their culture and to see how they understand the rule and the application of monastic life. And several of those communities have been, in fact, established for some time, and so we're not giving them an identity, really. We are in dialogue about the identity that we share as Benedictines. And so it becomes a learning experience for us here at St. [unintelligible], as well. Most – especially when those students are in the school, because we have a very broad international representation in the school. There are Koreans. There are...of course many Africans. There are Hispanics. We have a number of nationalities represented over there, so they contribute to that. It helps the American-born students see the church is not just Indianapolis or Toledo or New York or whatever it may be. They really do get a feel for what it is like in the world and know the church is quite international.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. AIM evaluates itself. How do you evaluate the success of AIM? Do you evaluate activities? Is it done internally or externally? Is – Are there

prototypes or models that work, or are the activities contextually-based? I mean, that's a lot in one question, but those are sort of facets of that question.

I don't know of any formal evaluation process in AIM. I think much of it is probably when we get letters from communities where we have been involved and they report to us what the involvement has allowed them to do and how it has, perhaps, made life better for them, just in an extent of living way or how the involvement has deepened for them, their hold on their own monastic vocation. It may have clarified for them what it means for them to be part of the Benedictine confederation, in that sense. Certainly, the programs – I think we – Like anybody, you know, we look at the numbers and we look at the budgets and we see, “Are we able to continue to sustain this?” And that's always been a challenge, more so, I think, in the last several years when the economy has affected philanthropy across the board. We've certainly been aware of that, as well. Perhaps one of the other ways of assessing it is the continued flow we have of women, for instance, who would volunteer for that monastery-to-monastery program. Interestingly, some of them are repeats, you know? They come back. They enjoy the experience so much, they want to do it again. Perhaps not every year, but every three or four years, they're back to go somewhere else than they've been. So I think that kind of speaks to a way that the programs capture their heart. As I was speaking about that reverse or the alliance there – they really see themselves as part of that and learners as well as teachers in the program.

Interviewer: You spoke about letters from the community back as an evaluative tool. Could you speak more about that? Are there other types of feedback that you

receive not just from the communities themselves, but maybe the communities in which the communities operate?

Hmm. I don't know that, John, but that's a very inter—I'm gonna have to ask about that. That's a very interesting perspective. Because I know that, for instance, in Africa, some of the communities – a couple are certainly involved in AIDS ministry in Africa, and I don't – They probably work with government in some way, and whether or not we get feedback from that, that would be – I don't know the answer to your question, but it's a good question. It's a good question, which I will ask when we have a meeting in October. That's excellent, really. Yeah.

Interviewer: Moving along, the umbrella organization of AIM includes how many monastic communities?

In this country?

Interviewer: In the world.

When you say includes – I'm gonna speak broadly in the sense of it not only encompasses those communities of first world we're helping, but the communities in third world and second world countries who are part of the whole process. My guess would be here, John – we're probably talking somewhere – I'm guessing. I don't know the figure. I would guess...100, 120 communities.

Interviewer: Okay.

Altogether, because in some way, you know, they would be involved. If they don't send personnel, they certainly would be monetary contributors to the programs. Some communities are very small. They may not be able to spare a person from their community, but they would be involved in often financial help to the effort. What'd be

my guess? I'd say over the years, there've been just a good number of – And honestly, I don't want to limit it to just that. I know it's in Korea, as well, in Asia. There have been contacts there, too.

Interviewer: Which community is the...oldest of that – this whole AIM? Is there – Can you pinpoint one?

I don't know, 'cause some of the European monasteries, you know, go back hundreds of years, hundreds of years, centuries, so, you know, we're probably talking about some of them who would be involved in that that would be a thousand years old, yeah.

Interviewer: Let's move to the newer communities. Are there any newer communities that you can speak to or speak about within the AIM umbrella?

Well, you know, relatively speaking in America, we're all new. [both laugh] As far as Europe goes. They think we're just the newest kids on the block here. But, you know, there's almost no – almost no house in this country that isn't involved in AIM in some way, certainly by financial support, and so that would mean communities that are maybe 50 years old. I think of a foundation of St. [unintelligible] – Prince of Peace Abbey in California. It just recently celebrated its 50th anniversary and they're involved in it, so they're only 50 years old. And I'm sure there are women's communities that are even newer than that that are part of the effort, as well, yeah.

Interviewer: In this umbrella organization with these communities, do they all share the same goals?

With regard to AIM?

Interviewer: AIM, what they do as monastics? Are they all – How are their goals? Do they share the same goals?

I would have to answer that question very broadly speaking, in the sense of, you know, we follow – all houses would follow the Rule of Benedict and take that as their guide, but how that gets expressed as very, very great differences, which I think is what allows a person to go from monastery to monastery and find a very different expression of monastic life, but still find it to be authentically Benedictine in each house, and that has to do with the autonomy of every Benedictine house. Unlike the Jesuits, the Franciscans, or the Dominicans, we are not centralized. [unintelligible] It's kind of a legal fiction a way – or I should say canonical fiction, because the other Primate – unlike for instance, the Father General for the Jesuits, who really doesn't have authority over other Benedictine houses in the world. He's more of a figurehead, really. So I think what unites them, yes, they share the same goal of monastic life. But it gets lived out quite broadly and, you know, with a lot of differences, depending upon their location, their circumstances, their history.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of authenticity? You use that term – authenticity. Can you explain it more? What do you mean by that?

I would describe it in terms of fidelity to the – what I call the genius of the rule that kind of – in a sense of the guiding mind of Benedict that gets played out in communities very, very differently so that we're not – we're not all identical, but I think we are all similar. And so prayer – we'll find prayer. I mean, office may be differently prayed from house to house. We will find every office prayed in every house. You will find hospitality as a value in every house. You will find some sort of asceticism as a

piece of their corporate life. Work – every house has work. Every house doesn't have the same work. You know, there's no one work that is identifiable as Benedictine, but to work is certainly a Benedictine quality and character. So I think that's the authenticity of it. You'll find those elements present in Benedictine communities. How they get played out is what the variance is about.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. We've spoken about it a little bit in other topic areas and questions – And we're coming close to the end, just to let you know. What is the process of starting and encouraging – or AIM's process for starting and encouraging monastic communities in the third world?

I don't think – AIM doesn't really have as its goal to start a community. I think it has as its goal the support of communities already in existence. So, you know, we're not a foundation-making organization. That isn't in a real way how Benedictine life operates. That foundation is made from a particular house that would either be asked to make a foundation or – mostly asked to make a foundation.

Interviewer: Now, when you say "house," please define what house is and how they make a foundation. What is that process?

A house is a particular Benedictine community. I spoke earlier about the autonomy of every monastery and house. And so we're not – Unlike the Dominicans who are organized by province, or many other religious orders organized by province, we belong to – loosely to congregations, but every house in the congregation is autonomous. It's sort of a confederation, if you will, that is...which comes together for mutual support and encouragement. So, a given house, let's say – I'll use St. [unintelligible] as an example. We, when we founded St. – Well, at the time it was St. Charles Priory. It's

now become Prince of Peace Abbey in California, in the '50's. We were approached by the bishop up there and [unintelligible] was contacted by him and asked him – he said, “I would like to have a monastic foundation in my diocese. Would you be willing to do this?” And so he was. And he sent monks out there to investigate it first and to see – And very often there's willingness on the part of the founding diocese to provide land initially or a place for the monks to come. That was – There was no particular – To my knowledge, no particular work assigned to that foundation, unlike, for instance, the foundation of Blue Cloud Abbey in the Dakotas, where our first abbot, Martin Martey, had already been up there to work with the Native American people in the Dakotas, and that work was what drew us up there. We were asked to make a foundation to continue that work as a house in the Dakotas rather than coming from St. [unintelligible]. And so what then has to be done is that the chapter that is the body of all those finely professed in the house has to agree to make the foundation as a vote. And so then it would be made. And we would then send monks up there to begin foundation. And over years, they would, hopefully, continue to solidify and grow and, at some point, petition to be independent of St. [unintelligible] or any other founding house.

Interviewer: Or the diocese itself that requested this foundation? Is that – Would that be an accurate – Because the autonomy, you talking before about in California where the diocesan request was the one that was the –

The occasion for it.

Interviewer: The impetus for doing that.

Yes. Yes, canonically, it's – This is true of all religions, John, that, you know, the diocese cannot – the bishop doesn't have the right to interfere, I mean, internal life of any

religious community, so, I mean, he can't say to the superior, "I want you to staff this parish" – the diocese. He can ask. You know, and we do. We staff a number of parishes. But, you know, if it ever gets to the point where this has happened, we've said, "We don't have the personnel to continue staffing this parish." He can't say, "You have to continue to staff." He can say it, [laughs] he can't force any religious community to continue to staff a parish or any other work in the diocese. Of course, what he can do is if we're – you know, if there's some scandal, genuinely, in the life of a community, he must address that, 'cause that's part of the diocesan life. Or if we're – , in the liturgy are doing something that, you know, is not kosher, he has the right or the duty to address that. But it's the internal life of the community. He can't decide who's gonna be the superiors, who's got to do this or that or that or the other thing.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. My penultimate question is about models. Are there models of communities that AIM uses for formation or to show, "This is what we do." I mean, are there models that AIM uses, and if there are, what's special about those examples?

I don't know that there's like a model community that would be help up for anybody, to anyone, in total, but I do think that in different communities, you may find – Let's say – I keep thinking of it 'cause it's the most obvious example to me – the monastery-to-monastery program. A women's community in Africa, it needs some help in organizing simply the structure of a life. There may be a community who has a very nice already in place, so that particular piece may be very helpful to them, and they may send somebody from that monastery to say, "Okay, here's what I'm going to show you. Here's how we do it. You have to adapt it, of course, to your situation, but this is how

it's organized for us. Because we're involved in similar – maybe similar work that you're looking to get involved in, and that affects the life of the community, so here's how it's organized.” So I think there are probably pieces of different communities that are relevant to the particular needs of a monastery in the third world, and those would be held up for them, I think, as models, as ways of looking at it and adapting it for themselves.

Interviewer: And who identifies those models?

I think what would – the process would be when a community in Africa would apply for the monastery-to-monastery program – I don't know the actual process, but they would probably provide a little profile of their community and then say, “Here's what we need to have done.” And then the executive director and the officer or the president, probably, of AIM, would look at that and say, “Okay, who do we have?” And they would know in this country, I think, who would be a good community to choose from. Or if there is a particular person from a given community who has an expertise about this. So they would – I think then they would approach her and say, “This community in South Africa is looking for this, and could you help them?” “Sure.” Or somebody has already done that in another place—

Interviewer: Ah.

So you go back to her and you say, “You helped this community very well. We got a similar situation over here. Could you go back in two years?”

Interviewer: Well, I want to thank you again for your time and the richness of the information that I've heard in this interview. I'm very grateful, and I'm looking forward to transcribing it and learning more as we forward. My last question is one of very open

nature. Is there anything that I haven't asked about AIM, its relationship or involvement in the third world, or is there something that you think I should know before I leave the beautiful grounds of St. [unintelligible]?

Nothing actually springs to mind, John. I mean, you covered a good number of the aspects of it, I think, in your questions. Maybe the only other thing I would say is that, you know, I've spoken about – and it's true, individual monasteries are supportive of this – but there are also monasteries who have secular oblate programs, St. [unintelligible] being one of them, and some of those oblate programs also are interested in AIM. In fact, one of the staff members in Erie, Sheila McLaughlin is her name – she's an oblate. Do you know her?

Interviewer: Yes, I do.

So, she's an oblate up in Erie, you know, and she's very much – she's part of the staff for AIM, but is also involved in the work of AIM, and I think – because she's interested in it. So, you know, in a way it's sharing of the values of an international perspective with people who are not monks or nuns but who have an interest in Benedictine causes, if you will, and Benedictine work. That's kind of a nice way, again, of broadening the awareness in the whole church about the international aspect of the church's life.

Interviewer: And before I conclude, can you please give me your understanding of oblate and what that is and that program? And very briefly, what is an oblate?

An oblate is a non-professed monastic who finds in the Benedictine way of life, a source for his or her own spiritual development and is willing to commit to being, I think,

a true participant, to some degree, in the life of a given Benedictine community. So for example, we have – Are you an oblate?

Interviewer: I am not an oblate.

We have 1,200 oblates as part of St. [unintelligible], and for the [unintelligible], a full-time oblate director here. So twice a year they come for retreats. Not all 1,200 of them, of course! We hold two retreats a year for our oblates, and any of them who can come, come. We have what we call oblate chapters. They meet on their own, or if they're close enough, one of the oblate [unintelligible] got about four or five monks who help him part time. They'll go to the chapters, meet with them once a month. And it really becomes, I think a – Sometimes in a given parish, it becomes a kind of a – like a small group interested in a particular spirituality.

Interviewer: I thank you for that short description. And this concludes the interview. And again, thank you for your generosity of time.

You're very welcome, John.

Informant B

Interviewer: And we are recording. Okay. My first question is about AIM itself. What is AIM?

Sure. My understanding of AIM would be is that it's a group of monasteries, and I think they're all Benedictines, that an organization has come out of kind of the greater Benedictine community that is overseeing some of the activities of Benedictine monasteries in the developing world. And their work is probably partly fundraising,

maybe overseeing leadership in new monasteries, helping them get projects underway, so if it's a newer monastery it may need water, so helping them get the resources to get that done, so that their community can group and the community around them can be served. So that's my outside understanding of AIM, not knowing them too well.

Interviewer: And how does AIM function? You've said a bit of that, but how do you see it functioning?

Sure. Um... my guess is they have an office somewhere, where I don't know, and then independent communities kind of contribute to that, either in resources of people, so we may have a monk that works for AIM that contributes their time, and that's kind of our community's gift to the project, or we will do monetary gifts, or maybe it's we help on a project, or maybe it's we help through prayer for them—and it'll probably vary community to community depending on what resources they have. You know, we're pretty fortunate. We're a large community, got a lot of money, so we can give our resources that way, so we probably don't pray for AIM directly too often, but... (the thought is there?).

Interviewer: And you've talked a bit about it in your previous responses but how does AIM do what it does?

Sure. I—I think with most Benedictine things, it's a lived experience. So, the things AIM is able to do is through being really willing to just sit with, and wrestle with, and live with the communities that they're serving, and the projects that they're trying to accomplish, and then the people that they're trying to serve, as well. And so it isn't a hands-off program so much, it's more really getting in there to deal with the people, to provide communication to other communities that maybe can't be underground with it,

but—for example, I know AIM mostly through their newsletter, at this point. And for me it's exciting because I see all these communities that I've seen in (Bentu?) and Tanzania, and just knowing that projects are still going on and that these communities are living, alive, and still serving the communities around them is important to me.

Interviewer: And to that point, when you were in Tanzania, were you under the auspices of AIM? And if so, how does that work?

No. So when I was in Tanzania was before I was a monk. I've just recently graduated from Saint John's University here, and the abbey had just recently started a program called the Benedictine Volunteer Corpse. And its goal is to send Johnny Graduates out to monasteries in pairs and help serve them in their mission by living a pseudo-monastic life, so you only have to go to prayer once or twice a day. You know, may have to eat with them once a day. Your food's there, so you eat with them all the time. And then work with them and pray with them. And so I was in Tanzania as a Benedictine volunteer. It took me a long time to get work, so it turned into much more of a cultural exchange. [laughs]

Interviewer: Why was that? Why was that?

Well, I think, though, Benedictine hospitality, it's one of those charismas that goes through the worlds, and it took them a long time to no longer see me as a guest, and to see me as a part of the community. But once that switch in their mind happened, it happened pretty fast. And then I had all sorts of work. So that's how I got to Tanzania. Now, AIM would have been involved in that. They have helped Hanga Abbey on certain projects, so... don't quote me on any of them, but it may be a water project that initially got started there. AIM provided the funding, and maybe the resources of somebody

coming out and helping them find the well, and drill the well, and do that. During my time there, I didn't so much see, "Okay, here's the AIM van pulling up..."

Interviewer: [laughs]

And then they'd get out and do the work and get on the way, but...

Interviewer: And to that point, how do you evaluate success of AIM projects, or what you were doing?

Sure.

Interviewer: Is it done like internally, or externally? Just to give you some... other questions that might help. Are you looking at a stereotype or model that works, or is it all contextual or projects that you evaluate activities, themselves, or...?

Sure. I would say it's a much more contextual... at the level of where it's happening, evaluation, rather than "here's the evaluation sheet, we're going to fill it out, how did that work out," file it away and be done with it. Because for most of the projects that AIM, and definitely the projects I worked on with Benedictine Volunteer Corps, are... much more ongoing. So if you are able to build a school, and start educating students, AIM might help you get to that point and then get out, and I'm not quite sure what would happen, but their success isn't gonna be measured at the end of the build, because that's only where the success is gonna start. So in my own teaching experiences, I wouldn't have necessarily looked at the success of the exams while I was there, but did the students stick around? Were they able to continue in their education beyond that? Does that make any—?

Interviewer: Yes, yes. Now, you said, "In my teaching experience." Did you do that?

So, while I was in Hanga as a Benedictine Volunteer, I taught English to secondary school students in a school for boys and girls, high school. And then I also taught at the elementary school that also had both boys and girls. Science. And then I worked in their pharmacy, as well. For the abbey as a pharmacist. With very little medical training, but—

Interviewer: [laughs]

Enough that I was more educated than anybody else who had done it, so... those were my kind of assigned works. And for me to get to know people, I also just found other things. For example, helping in the monastery's kitchen, or going and digging in the fields with students. But not to limit it just to what I'd been assigned, but to... y'know, really try to experience the people and live with them as much as they could live with me while I was there. I know I had the opportunity to go to Tanzania, volunteer, if that's what you want to call it, but they probably don't have the chance to come to America. So if I could share my culture with them, as well, that was an important part of why I was there.

Interviewer: AIM... how—tell me about the process of how it encourages or starts new monastic communities, if you know that.

Sure. I don't know that AIM would necessarily, as an organization, start a monastery. But many monasteries in the developing world will come out of a missionary spirit, usually. And right now, actually, I think the Indian monasteries are really... they're thriving, and so they're able to send offshoots off quite a bit. In Hanga, where I was, it was funded by the Saint Ottilien congregation. So they sent Germans to Tanzania, they settled in, the Germans founded other monasteries in Tanzania, and what's unique

about Hanga, at least, is that the Germans have since gotten out, and in fact, I don't know if they ever actually sent Germans. And so it's completely African, and it's one of the very few completely African lead, African owned—there's no German influence, and so they... African Benedictines would be kind of their charisma, rather than Africans living like Germans in Tanzania. So AIM probably isn't founding any community, would be my guess, but they are helping support those communities that have been founded, so that they can kind of get on their way and on their feet.

Interviewer: Are there any monastic communities that serve as a model for AIM that you know of? You've spoken about the spirit, and—

Sure.

Interviewer: Can you explain that further, and are there models? And also, too, do the communities as you see them all share the same goal?

Um... well, most AIM monasteries are probably Benedictines, and therefore education is generally going to be pretty high up on their goal. Are they educating the people? And they aren't just going to educate the Catholics in the area, but they'll educate all those who surround the monastery. And one thing that I've found, visiting monasteries in Tanzania, was—so 50 years ago a monastery was founded. And it was just a monastery in the middle of the bush. And quickly they needed employees, so a few people moved around quickly. There's industry, and schools, and stores, and work, and now there's water, electricity. So quickly around the monastery a community gathers. And it's a very eclectic community, because though the work is all for this Catholic monastery, that's not the requisite to work there, so Muslims are present, Protestants are present, so all these people are there, and all of them are being served by the monasteries,

so I think that another over-arching goal in monasteries would be are we serving the people that are around us and not just serving ourselves? 'Cause it would... monks and nuns could live very comfortably if all they had to do was make sure they had food and make sure they had water and electricity, and... you know, they could pray all day, at that point. But that's usually not the goal or the aim of the communities. Who are the people we're serving. And then the charisma of how that service is might be different. It might be education, it might be for women's communities, and especially hospitals, would be... a big part of their mission. But it would be, how are we serving those that are gathered around us?

Interviewer: Are you aware of any of the older communities? Like, which is the oldest community? How many—

Huh.

Interviewer: How many communities are there within the AIM umbrella?

Sure. I can't even imagine.

Interviewer: What about the newer communities, do you know about—?

No. I don't. In—my guess is—my assumption would be is that a community will kind of supply for AIM's help, or maybe AIM would seek them out, but I don't know that it would be limited to just a...or an AIM monastery. I don't know that anybody would actually claim kind of the AIM title. Because it wouldn't be their congregation, nor would it be their order. But... my guess would be they've served many communities, the number I wouldn't know.

Interviewer: I guess this is the penultimate question that'll be asked.

Sure. [laughs]

Interviewer: I usually ask—is there anything that I’m not asking or that you think I should know about AIM or your Benedictine experience regarding the third world?

Sure. Well, for Benedictines, our model is prayer and work. And so when I often think about any monastic community, I think about what’s their prayer life, what’s their work life. And in all of the AIM communities they’re going to have that same idea of prayer and work. So part of AIM is going to be, how can we support this community so that it can have a prayer life, and a strong prayer life together as a community—because without the prayer life, the communities don’t exist. So, they don’t function—most monastic communities wouldn’t function very well as just a... kind of a common, you know, people who wanted to work together. But the draw to it is we’re praying together, and then with that prayer, we’re also working. So then assign work to the community. So if you’re at Saint John’s we have schools. So that’s been what we’ve done. And then as a community, our prayer supports the schools, and our schools support our prayer, and in that we’ve also served those around us, so... I think for all AIM communities, that’s going to be the charisma of prayer and work together. *Ora et labora*. Or in Swahili, *sala na kazi*.

Interviewer: Say that again?

Sala na kazi, would be that.

Interviewer: *Sala na kazi*, yes. Okay.

Prayer is *sala* and *kazi* is work.

Interviewer: Fantastic. Well, my last question is a very simple one. Did you feel as comfortable as I felt in this interview?

Absolutely. Yeah. Any time I get a chance to speak about my time in Tanzania—because for me it was so formative, that I had never even considered monastic life before I went to this monastery. I just went—I didn’t feel like looking for a job after college, so I said, “Okay, I guess I’ll volunteer.” Showed up in Tanzania, they had young monks, something we don’t have here at the grey-haired Saint John’s.

Interviewer: [laughs] Yeah.

And for the first time, there, I was thinking about talking about ways that people seek God, and it kind of flushed itself as, “Well, I suppose I could try it.” So I came back here and actually did it, so... for me it’s a big part of my life, the... kind of Benedictines in developing countries, and just how normal they are, and how regular people they were. So...it’s great. In fact, I was just at a parish this weekend, giving a Gospel reflection, and afterwards talking about the Volunteer Corps, and... I get a lot of energy from being able to do it.

Interviewer: Well, I got a lot of energy from this interview, and I’d really like to thank you very much for your generosity of time and spirit. Thank you.

(That’s fine?). Thank you.

Informant C

Interviewer: Can you hear my voice?

[unintelligible]

Interviewer: So we’re going to begin. My first question to you is, um, how—
how long have you been involved with AIM?

Well, let me answer by saying this. Our—we have a mission in Guatemala. We've had it since 1965. It's in Quetzaltenango, but as you're aware AIM helps third world monasteries, so I guess—I mean, it's before I entered the monastery here, but I presume that AIM has been helping our mission, at least off and on, since then, so—since 1965.

Interviewer: But you particularly?

Me particularly, well—I first went to Guatemala in 1992 and I had some contact with AIM down there. Um, but, um, that was my only contact, OK? Through our mission, so since 1992.

Interviewer: OK. And you've kind of answered the second question I have in your first answer—how did you get involved with AIM? And if you could...

Well, it was through our mission. In Guatemala we have a small Benedictine monastery and a small—minor seminary down there. That's our work and so over the years AIM has helped our mission.

Interviewer: And could you explain further by what you mean by “your mission”?

Well, uh, I think you probably—if you're studying Benedictinism then you know that this is our main abbey, OK? An abbey is an independent, autonomous house. All Benedictine abbeys in the world are autonomous. We don't have like Provinces with a Superior General. The abbot's in charge of an autonomous monastery. Even though we have congregations of monasteries, still each monastery is autonomous. So the way monasteries—the way Benedictine monasteries come about is that they're founded by other monasteries. A new one is founded by an established abbey, so when the new

monastery is established it's a dependent house on the abbey. That's what I'm calling a mission, 'cause it is—we call it a priory down there. Its name is Priorato San Jose, but the priory is a dependent house on [unintelligible] abbey. Actually, down there we don't call it a mission.

Interviewer: What do you call it?

People up here call it a mission. Down there we don't.

Interviewer: What do you refer to it?

Just the name—Priorato San Jose. That's a priory, OK?

Interviewer: OK. And in looking at that, how does AIM function? Uh, and you've kind of told me about your time involvement, how you got involved, but how do you see AIM functioning?

That's kind of an open-ended question, but I'll try and answer it as best I can. Uh, at least from my point of view, OK, AIM was established of course to help third world monasticism. Um, they do that, uh, one way they do that at least is by I guess offering financial help of—and as I was saying our priory in Guatemala they have helped over the years at different times. It could be through mass stipends—sending the money and then we take care of the masses or they've sent books over the years. I think they helped out with our construction. We've been in Guatemala since 1965, but in 1990, 1991 we moved to a different location and we had to build new buildings and they helped with that—you know with some of the financing. Some other things, too, they've helped with—I forget all of it, but mainly financial help that we've benefitted from AIM in that sense, OK?

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

Now I should tell you this, uh, also AIM has asked us here—since they do fundraising here in the States and in Europe, I suppose, and uh, for instance last summer and I'm sure before that, too—at least when I was involved in them was last summer—they asked us here to help give appeals—mission appeals at parishes in the Diocese here in Rockford. So we've been involved with AIM in that sense, as well. Uh, as giving mission appeals on behalf of AIM and then they use the results—the income from that to help monasteries in other parts of the world. They also have a newsletter, which I'm sure you've seen, that, you know, talks about different monasteries and what's going on and how AIM is involved with them.

Interviewer: You've given—you've answered about how AIM functions—how you see AIM functioning. My next question you have again sort of given some insight into that, but what sorts of things does AIM do? Is there anything more you'd like to elaborate on that? Other than—the functioning is one thing, but what actually do—does AIM do?

I'm not sure if I understand the difference between functioning and what AIM does. I mean, it seems...

Interviewer: It's very close...

Kind of like... I mean, AIM was established for—I mean what it does is its supports third world monasteries, right? Um, that's what I see it doing. [laughs]

Interviewer: OK. [laughs]

I mean that's the function. I know they have their board and, uh, actually our Abbot, [unintelligible], has been on the board and that kind of thing, but I mean, he could

answer this much better than me, but uh, I'm not sure I totally understand the difference here.

Interviewer: OK, well, here's another question. How would you evaluate AIM—AIM's success? Do you evaluate activities? Is it done internally or externally, um, is there a prototype or model in which to evaluate activities or is it all contextual in your—in your perspective?

Well, that's a good question. From my point of view it's uh—I mean how successful it that? I guess it depends on what their goals are, which to tell you the truth I'm not—the internal workings of AIM I'm not familiar with. Uh, like on their board of directors or something like that—I've never been on that and I'm not familiar with that so they may answer it differently than I do. You know, they may say, “well we've met our goals, we haven't met our goals” or whatever. The way I see it, though, it is an organization that does what it can to help third world monasticism. I think in that sense it is successful, yeah. Could they do more? Probably, like any organization.

Interviewer: Right.

But, uh, anyway that's about what I would say.

Interviewer: How many monasteries are under the AIM umbrella? Could you give me an understanding of that?

Mmm. That's a good question. You have to ask how many monasteries I guess are in developing nations? That's kind of a mixed bag in the sense that for instance South America or Central American—I'm familiar with that. I'm not really familiar with Africa or Asia, but at least that are of the world there are abbeys that have been established for longer periods of time, such as in Brazil especially. There are younger

communities that are independent such as—there's one in Guatemala called Esquipulas—the Abbey of Esquipulas, which was established in 1959.

Interviewer: Can you spell that, please? Esquipulas?

[interviewee spells]

Interviewer: Esquipulas. Got it.

They're a younger community, but they're an independent abbey. And then there's places like our place that's still dependent on the founding abbey.

Interviewer: When you say "like our place," you mean the place where you worked...

In Quetzaltenango, right.

Interviewer: And could you spell that please?

What?

Interviewer: Que...

Well, it's called Priorato San Jose, is the name of it. [interviewee spells] It's in Guatemala. Well, so is Esquipulas, but their abbeys are like Teyepac Abbey in Mexico and there's other abbeys that are younger but independent. And there's places like us that are still dependent on the founding house. How many in the world? I don't know.

[laughs]

Interviewer: [laughs] OK.

I would say a couple hundred, which is kind of a round about number. I would—you know, mature monasteries like ours here or other monasteries that have been established a longer period of time—AIM was not established to help us or deal with us,

you know. It's more us helping AIM to help the third world monasteries—other struggling monasteries. It's not only for struggling monasteries, you know, um, so I would just off the top of my head numbers—I don't know. I would say just a couple hundred anyway. I mean it's quite extensive, I mean, if you're going to Tanzania, you know, there's newer communities there and I would imagine they're struggling financially like a lot of the newer places, you know.

Interviewer: Tell me about the older ones. Which community is the oldest in the AIM umbrella that you know of?

Oh, I don't know. I can't really say.

Interviewer: OK. Do these communities all in your, from your perspective share the same goal?

The Benedictine communities?

Interviewer: Uh-huh. Within these.

Well, yeah, the overall goal of establishing Benedictine life, monastic life in these monasteries. I mean, that—just the broader goal, you might say. Course you might say secondary goals such as our work—you know, they're all different. You know, Benedictines, we don't have a common work. Each monastery chooses its work—the work it wants to do and how it's going to support itself and so there's—you know, I would say those are the secondary—that's the secondary goal—or one of the secondary goals. In terms of establishing Benedictine monastic life, I would say that's the common goal, of course, of all Benedictine monasteries.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. How—you've spoken about supporting, but how does AIM encourage or help start new monastic communities within the third world? How does that process work?

Well, first of all, let me say this. I'm not—well, I'll say this, which I said before. The way a new monastery generally comes about is from an older established monastery, so if there's no older established monastery that wants to make a foundation the new monastery is not going to happen. In that sense AIM is not the principal actor there, OK?

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

However, AIM—so the principle actor is the founding monastery. They're the ones that decide where it's going, who's going to start—what monks are going to be there to start it, you know, etc. The work it's gonna do. It's all decided from the founding monastery. I'm saying in general. There are some exceptions in the world, I guess, but uh...

Interviewer: Like what? What would be an exception?

Well, there's a monastery actually where St. Benedict was born, in Nursia, Italy. It was actually founded by a monk of St. Meinrad, but—I don't remember exactly. The 1980's or something like that. The late '70's. It was founded directly under the abbot—what we call the Abbot Primate who's the kind of head of the whole Benedictine order. But it was founded directly under his authority. It was not founded under another monastery even though the founding—he's a prior now. He was a monk of St. Meinrad. I mean, he is a Benedictine. He made his vows to St. Meinrad in the end, but he was teaching in Rome and he wanted to do this—wanted to found it and the Abbot President

gave the authority. But that monastery was founded a little different than most monasteries because of that.

Interviewer: Right.

And there's probably a few others in the world like that, but they're really exceptional. They're not the normal thing. I was going to say, though, AIM then would probably be involved in, uh, first of all if the founding monastery needed financial help they might go to AIM, like we did. AIM might be able to help with that. And I'm sure AIM would—AIM also does—as I'm saying I haven't been involved in the internal workings of AIM, but I'm sure AIM gives besides their newsletter they have other means of getting information to people about their work. Whether it's through talks or personal meetings with interested people, you know, who might be able to help in the foundation of a new monastery, you know? Um, even through volunteer help, you know. So I guess that's my answer.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm, mm-hmm. As far as there being a model... is there a specific model that AIM uses for its communities? Is there one sort of model and, if so, what makes that model special or what makes that community special?

I'm not sure what you mean by—if they have a model for communities, you mean...

Interviewer: Is there a model community for the AIM sort of monastic experience, you know?

You mean for what they're interested in...

Interviewer: Yes.

Or for what...

Interviewer: What they're interested in and what they do.

Well, obviously Benedictine monastery—monastic community, um, has certain limits [laughs] you might say. Certain things you need for you to have a monastery, right? You need the [unintelligible] divine office, you need a group of people living in a community, you know, these kinds of things. The common work, etc. You know, they take vows and so on. So I presume it's—first of all, I mean broadly speaking if it's outside of the monastic, you might say ideal, then they wouldn't be involved in it.

Interviewer: OK.

We're not Franciscans or Dominicans or Jesuits or other orders or other types of communities. We're in the monastic tradition of the church, so I'm presuming that's what they deal with, um, so that's you might say a broad model, you know broadly based. Then secondly of course they are helping with, in general, newer monasteries. I could see a point where there's an older monastery that's kind of in decline or losing vocations or there might be—in a particular country there might be circumstances—culture or economic, social that might affect the monastery directly where they would need some support from AIM. You know, I'd like to see that happening so AIM would, I'm sure, would try to do what they could, but as I was saying I think normally with newer monasteries they deal with, um, of course newer is kind of a broad...

Interviewer: Yeah.

I mean, it's not just in the last five years. Now can I define newer? Well...

Interviewee: [laughs]

Last 50 years? I don't know—give or take, give or take, you know. So you know in terms of—I don't know if you call it a model, but that's what they're looking for, I think.

Interviewer: Very good.

Uh... OK.

Interviewer: Well, that concludes really...

Well, they have the publication, too, you, know, their [unintelligible]...

Interviewer: Right, their bulletin.

Their magazine or bulletin, whatever you want to call it, yeah. Which is very good. I'm mean, there's articles in there about monasticism so—also AIM obviously does help through that bulletin—they have a newsletter's wealth of I guess helping people to understand monastic life better...

Interviewer: And helped...

That's part of their work, too.

Interviewer: Did AIM help you in your work in Guatemala?

Well, uh, as I mentioned before they did help us economically—financially at times.

Interviewer: In Guatemala?

In Guatemala. They did.

Interviewer: Yes, uh huh.

And also through their articles, I mean—you learn.

Interviewer: Communication.

Communication, yeah. So that's uh—you know I'm—my impression when AIM was founded—I mean wasn't around in the monastic world when it was founded, but uh, AIM is—well in Spanish it's "ayuda"—it's help. You know, in French it's...

Interviewer: "Assistance."

"Assistance," yeah. It's mainly geared towards financial assistance and that of course is obviously very necessary. You know, and I don't remember, quite frankly, if they visited our place. I think at once point when I was there someone came by to visit. So they try to visit these places and see what's going on and give I guess you might say counsel or advice they can. But as I say is, newer monasteries, especially ones that are still dependent, are really controlled by who founds them. You know, so AIM's role is called one of support. You know?

Interviewer: Mm-hmm. Mm-hmm. I have a penultimate question.

OK.

Interviewer: You spoke about the President Abbot, the Priorist Abbot...

Well, no OK...

Interviewer: Can you give me—can you explain that whole hierarch or terminology?

OK, when you have a normal monastery is an abbey, like here. Or like St. Vincent's or St. John's, we're all abbeys and they have abbots. Now some monasteries—there's two in the United States, Benedictines, St. Vincent's and St. Meinrad, are called archabbeyes. It's just an honorary title. They're still abbeys. It's just an honorary title 'cause they were the first one in each of the two congregations in the states—of Benedictines—of men. So they're called archabbeyes and the abbot is called an

archabbot. It's more of an honorary title. A regular abbot like here would have the same exact authority as an archabbot in his monastery. Um, then we are formed in the Congregations—there's different Benedictine congregations in the world.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

And the uh—there's a fellow called the Abbot President who's kind of the head of the Congregation. Now he doesn't have a lot of authority because each abbey is autonomous. The Congregation is formed mainly for trying to help each other you know when it's needed or—we call visitations, etc. We have a general chapter each year to talk about—we have a common constitution, you know, by-laws that's common and that's approved by Rome—so he deals with that kind of stuff. And then we have the Abbot Primate who lives in Sant'Anselmo—it's a Benedictine monastery over there and he, uh, he's elected by the other presidents. He's elected and his job, basically, is—you know, I would say moral support. But he also deals with the Roman offices, you might say.

Interviewer: [laughs] OK.

He job center is in Rome so he's kind of the face of Benedictinism with the Pope and with the Vatican offices, you know for the Congregation of Religious and so on, he's kind of—our representative. So you know when the new code of canon law was being revised—it came out in 1983—it's not so new anymore, but it is the newest one, though. And he was very much involved in that, with Benedictine interests at heart, um. So things like that, you know. When there was—a while ago there was a meeting of—a senate of religious—I mean he was there representing Benedictines. So, I mean, that's his work. Then he also travels a lot visiting Benedictine monasteries and speaking at them or letting them know what's going on, etc., and different groupings, you might say,

of monastic meetings. I was just at one in Florida of the abbots and prioresses in Florida and he was there. He kind of gave us an update on, you know, things that are going on in the world. So that—basically that's his job. So he's called the Abbot Primate. And then a place like ours in Guatemala which is still dependent is called a priory and the fella in charge of that is a prior.

Interviewer: Got it.

OK, now this is all on the men's side. The women's side have their own—I mean the women have their prioresses and—basically the same kinds of structures. They have their autonomous houses, etc....

Interviewer: So prior...

[unintelligible] And AIM also, I mean AIM helps both men and women.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

So there might be more than 200. I'm thinking of men. There might be 400 houses, you know. But that's just off the top of my head. I have no idea.

Interviewer: So prior is a part of—so you mean a prior is a part of a dependent house.

Right. Generally.

Interviewer: Generally, OK.

Now there is one exception.

Interviewer: OK.

To complicate things... [laughs] There's such a thing as an independent priory.

Interviewer: Oh! OK.

[laughs] Generally, a priory is dependent, but there is such a thing called an independent priory. It's the first step to becoming an abbey. So when the founding house thinks that the new house is ready to be on its own then they make an independent priory, OK? And then that's kind of the first step to becoming an independent abbey.

Interviewer: Got it.

That's generally what happens. It's generally a step between the two. It's generally not a permanent classification, OK?

Interviewer: Another question comes to mind. What—can you explain that process? Or what is the process that you start from abbey to founding a new community...

Oh, why?

Interviewer: Yeah, why? What—what is the process? Yes, what is the process?

Generally, one of two situations. One situation, which is quite common and it happened with us, is that there was a bishop in Guatemala looking to have a Benedictine community in his diocese. It was a new diocese—recently established by Rome back in the '60's and he was looking for a Benedictine community and he met one of our men who was down there doing some mission work and through him communicated with our abbot here in the community and make a long story short we accepted his invitation. So the initiative in that case would be from a bishop, for example or a diocese, which is quite common actually. Um, the second situation would be where if a monastery has a lot of vocations and they can spare people then they might start thinking of a new foundation and then they would look and the abbot or the community would look for an opportunity somewhere in the world to make a new foundation. And you

always have to work with a bishop. The whole world is divided up into diocese and each diocese has a bishop, right, so you have to work with a bishop. You can't just go in and found something without the authority of the bishop, so—so in that case the community then would talk with a bishop or whoever—number of bishops—and if there is a bishop interested, then talk about making a foundation in that part of the world. Now that's normal. Now, there is a congregation called a St. Ottilien Congregation—over in Tanzania. You know them, right?

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

They are a missionary Benedictine congregation. Their idea is—I mean that's one of their goals. See, our congregation here—[unintelligible] is called a Swiss-American.

Interviewer: Mm-hmm.

That's not really our goal. I mean we have some missions, but that's not really our focus. But with the St. Ottilien congregation that is their focus. They have their monasteries in Germany, but they have a lot of monasteries throughout the world—newer monasteries—and that's their focus, to extend Benedictine monasticism throughout the world. So they're kind of big in Tanzania. They have one or two at least, I think. You know better than me, but uh they still have to get permission from a bishop. They can't just go in and, you know, found a monastery. You still have to work with the bishop. But in their case, I mean, their idea is to go out and found monasteries as much as possible. You know, so... So basically those two ways, you know. Um, in any case, the founding monastery has to say, "yes we want to make a new foundation," whether they're approached by a bishop or whether they think of it themselves, they still have to say, "yes

we give approval for this foundation” and start it then. And they have to send people. It’s not like you can start a foundation, there’s nobody to go. You have to send some of your people, whether its men or women, you know. You have to—at least some people to get the thing started. Um, so that’s basically the process of it. So in other words if I wanted to go off on my own—even though I’m an abbot, but it doesn’t make any difference. Any monk who just wants to go off on their own, start a foundation—without the OK from the abbot and the community—it’s not the normal way of doing it. That has happened in the history of monastic life. If you read the history of monastic life that has happened and sometimes successfully and sometime being a failure, but that’s not the normal way of doing it. And actually today Rome frowns on that very much, you know. But, I mean, in the Middle Ages Rome didn’t even know what was going on a lot of times, but nowadays it’s more—a lot more communication, etc. And basically it’s Rome frowns on that and so do we as Benedictines. That’s not our way of functioning, you know?

Interviewer: I wish to be clearer on terminology. You’ve used the term foundation, monastery, abbey and I’ve also used the term house used...

Yeah, well I use different terms.

Interviewer: Are they convertible? What do you mean by those terms?

Well, no, a monastery is any type of monastery. You know, it could be dependent, independent, could be whatever. It’s a monastery. Then the abbey is an independent established monastery. A priory, as I said, is generally a dependent house. Um, a house is a monastery, basically. Those two terms are interchangeable, OK?

Interviewer: Clear.

So I guess “monastery” is kind of the general term. The more specific term in abbey or priory, yeah? I don’t think there’s a third one, I think it’s just those two. So that’s basically it, yeah.

Interviewer: This concludes my questions. That was my last question and I just wanted to ask you very quickly, is there anything that I haven’t asked or anything that you’d like to say about AIM, third world Benedictine monasticism or Benedictine monasticism in general?

[churning sound]

Interviewer: Radiator.

That’s the heater, right? Uh, not really. I mean third world monasticism—I don’t know if that’s the proper term anymore... [laughs]

Interviewer: Oh, what is the proper term?

Well, when you talk about the third world you talk about the third world, the developing world, the emerging world, whatever you want to call it, but uh what we’re talking about is mainly monasteries in poorer areas.

Interviewer: Yes.

Now here in the United States I guess we would normally think that means like South America, Africa, parts of Asia, etc. It could also mean monasteries here in this country. Now to tell you the truth, I’m not sure if AIM helps like we’re talking about deals with monasteries here. Actually, most of the monasteries here are established. There are some older, some newer, but most of them have been established pretty well, but, you know, if some community wants to found a new monastery here in the United

States—if they have the wherewithal to do it they could and might be in a poorer area, so maybe AIM could help out with them, too, you know?

Interviewer: OK.

But generally I think we talk about helping out in countries that economically are struggling. Where most of the people live in poverty, you know. And of course the idea of founding a monastery in these places is—you know as monks come kind of have a middle age—Middle Ages mentality—not middle age, but Middle Ages like in the Middle Ages in Europe, yes?

Interviewer: [laughs]

Mentality in the sense of, uh, you know we believe that if there—one of the reasons to found a monastery, I mean, obviously to attract vocation so people can live as monks, but or for their own holiness, but also that it becomes a center of evangelization and of Christian faith—and as it was in the Middle Ages—as monasteries were in the Middle Ages, you know. And they become centers where slowly but surely the people were evangelized and, uh, the church grew up around those areas. So I mean, we still think things like that.

Interviewer: OK. [laughs]

[laughs] I'm not sure how true they are anymore, but I have an idealism.

Interviewer: Yes.

But I think to a certain degree is true, you know.

Interviewer: Well, I thank you so much...

OK.

Interviewer: For your generosity...

Well, I'm sorry I couldn't give you a little more detail here, but you've talked to the people at AIM, right?

Interviewer: Yes, I have, yes I have. [laughs]

So I mean, you know what's going on from their point of view.

APPENDIX B - Coding Matrix

	Open Codes	Axial Codes	Core Codes
Alliance for International Monasticism Involved in development in the Third World			
Question 1			
Int. A	<p>Nominated</p> <p>Hosted several students from Africa</p> <p>Had some international experience with monasticism in Africa</p>	Exchange	<p>Houses</p> <p>Houses</p> <p>Hosted</p> <p>Hosted</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Study</p> <p>Students</p> <p>Africa</p> <p>International</p>

Int. B	<p>In Tanzania was before I was a monk. Recently graduated from Saint John's University</p> <p>Abbey had just recently started a program called the Benedictine Volunteer Corps Goal is to send Johnny Graduates out to monasteries in pairs Help serve them in their mission by living a pseudo-monastic life</p>	<p>Volunteerism</p> <p>Trial period</p> <p>University involvement</p>	<p>Work</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Volunteer</p> <p>Guest</p> <p>Hospitality</p> <p>Funding</p> <p>Resources</p>
Int. C	<p>Went to Guatemala in 1992</p> <p>Had some contact with AIM down there</p>	<p>International Experience</p>	<p>House</p> <p>Autonomous monastery</p> <p>Congregations of monasteries</p>

			Benedictine monasteries Dependent house Abbey Abbey Priory Abbey Mission
Question 2			
Int. A	AIM is actually an international organization. The American secretariat for the international organization. Work with the international AIM board that has international representation	Global Regional Hierarchy	International International American American Organization Organization Communities Communities

			<p>Communities</p> <p>Programs</p> <p>Programs</p> <p>Programs</p> <p>Women</p> <p>Women</p> <p>Women</p> <p>Appeals</p> <p>Grants</p> <p>Collections</p>
Int. B	<p>They have an office</p> <p>somewhere, where I</p> <p>don't know,</p> <p>Independent</p> <p>communities</p> <p>Contribute to that,</p> <p>either in resources or</p>	<p>Hierarchy</p> <p>Assistance</p> <p>Autonomy</p>	<p>Resources</p> <p>Monetary gifts</p> <p>Money</p> <p>Resources</p> <p>Help</p> <p>Resources</p>

	<p>people, so we may have</p> <p>a monk that works for</p> <p>AIM that contributes</p> <p>their time, and that's</p> <p>kind of our</p> <p>community's gift to the</p> <p>project, or we will do</p> <p>monetary gifts, or</p> <p>maybe it's we help on a</p> <p>project, or maybe it's</p> <p>we help through prayer</p> <p>for them—and it'll</p> <p>probably vary</p> <p>community to</p> <p>community depending</p> <p>on what resources they</p> <p>have</p>		<p>Prayer</p> <p>Pray</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Community</p>
Int. C	Have their board	Hierarchy	<p>Financial Help</p> <p>Mass stipends</p>

	Our Abbot has been on the board		Money Financing Financial Help Fundraising Appeals Mission appeals Mission appeals Income Third World Monasticism
Question 3			
Int. A	Programs that has come out of the American secretariat is The monastery-to-monastery program, and that is women's communities. It's	Training Volunteerism Authenticity Finance	Community Monastic communities Identity Identity

	<p>limited to women's communities in Africa.</p> <p>And American Benedictine women volunteer to go over to a particular community in Africa, depending upon whatever their need may be, and this may be for instruction in the rule, maybe dealing with liturgy, maybe dealing with community organization, English Support AIM monetarily. we would send speakers or preachers to countries – excuse me, to dioceses in this country</p>		<p>Formation</p> <p>Benedictine</p> <p>Benedictine</p> <p>Benedictine</p> <p>Benedictine</p> <p>Third World</p> <p>Third World</p> <p>Experience</p> <p>Culture</p> <p>Africans</p> <p>Hispanics</p>
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	<p>who are open to having missionary appeals in their diocese.</p> <p>We fund particular projects for which communities apply</p>		
Int. B	<p>Willing to just sit with, and wrestle with, and live with the communities that they're serving,</p> <p>The projects that they're trying to accomplish, and then the people that they're trying to serve</p> <p>It isn't a hands-off program so much, it's more really getting in</p>	<p>Finance</p> <p>Communication</p> <p>Engagement</p>	<p>Newsletter</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Projects</p> <p>People</p>

	<p>there to deal with the people</p> <p>To provide communication to other communities that maybe can't be underground with it</p>		
Question 4			
Int. A	<p>I don't know of any formal evaluation process in AIM.</p> <p>I think much of it is probably when we get letters from communities where we have been involved and they report to us what the involvement has</p>	<p>Feedback</p> <p>Volunteerism</p> <p>Authenticity</p>	<p>Evaluation</p> <p>Letters</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Involvement</p> <p>Volunteer</p> <p>Vocation</p> <p>Women</p>

	<p>allowed them to do and</p> <p>how it has, perhaps,</p> <p>made life better for</p> <p>them, just in an extent</p> <p>of living way or how the</p> <p>involvement has</p> <p>deepened for them,</p> <p>their hold on their own</p> <p>monastic vocation. one</p> <p>of the other ways of</p> <p>assessing it is the</p> <p>continued flow we have</p> <p>of women, for instance,</p> <p>who would volunteer</p> <p>for that monastery-to-</p> <p>monastery program.</p> <p>Interestingly, some of</p> <p>them are repeats, you</p> <p>know?some of the</p> <p>communities – a couple</p> <p>are certainly involved in</p>		<p>Numbers</p> <p>Budgets</p> <p>Sustain</p>
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	AIDS ministry in Africa, and I don't – They probably work with government in some way		
Int. B	So in my own teaching experiences, I wouldn't have necessarily looked at the success of the exams while I was there, but did the students stick around? Were they able to continue in their education beyond that	Community Institutions Education	Success Success Success Education Educating
Int. C	I guess it depends on what their goals are,	Goals	Organization Organization

	<p>which to tell you the truth I'm not. it is an organization that does what it can to help third world monasticism. I think in that sense it is successful, yeah. Could they do more?</p> <p>Probably, like any organization.</p>		<p>Third World Monasticism</p> <p>Goals</p> <p>Goals</p> <p>Goals</p>
Question 5			
Int. A	<p>I would guess...100, 120 communities</p>	<p>Disperse</p> <p>Numerous</p>	<p>Third World</p> <p>Second World</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Communities</p>

			Korea Asia
Int. B	I can't even imagine	Numerous	Congregation Order Communities Community Communities
Int. C	I would say a couple hundred, which is kind of a round about number. I would—you know, mature monasteries like ours here or other monasteries that have been established a longer period of time—AIM was not established to help us or deal with us, you	Numerous Generational	Monasteries Monasteries Monasteries Monasteries Mature Newer Established

	<p>know. It's more us</p> <p>helping AIM to help the</p> <p>third world</p> <p>monasteries—other</p> <p>struggling monasteries</p>		
Question 6			
Int. A	<p>All houses would follow</p> <p>the Rule of Benedict</p> <p>and take that as their</p> <p>guide, But how that</p> <p>gets expressed as very,</p> <p>very great differences,</p> <p>which I think is what</p> <p>allows a person to go</p> <p>from monastery to</p> <p>monastery and find a</p> <p>very different</p>	<p>Goals</p> <p>Diversity</p> <p>Culture</p> <p>Authenticity</p> <p>Autonomy</p> <p>Geography</p> <p>Spirituality</p>	<p>Rule of Benedict</p> <p>The Rule</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Benedictine</p> <p>houses</p> <p>Primate</p> <p>Jesuits</p> <p>Franciscans</p> <p>Dominicans</p> <p>Centralized</p>

	<p>expression of monastic life,</p> <p>But still find it to be authentically</p> <p>Benedictine in each house, and that has to do with the autonomy of every Benedictine house. yes, they share the same goal of monastic life.</p> <p>But it gets lived out quite broadly and, you know, with a lot of differences, depending upon their location, their circumstances, their history.</p>		<p>Houses</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Differently</p> <p>Differences</p> <p>Different</p> <p>Differently</p> <p>Variance</p> <p>Hospitality</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Pray</p> <p>Pray</p> <p>Authenticity</p>
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Int. B	<p>AIM monasteries are probably Benedictines, and therefore education is generally going to be pretty high up on their goal. Are they educating the people? And they aren't just going to educate the Catholics in the area, but they'll educate all those who surround the monastery. And it's a very eclectic community, because though the work is all for this Catholic monastery, that's not the requisite to work there, so Muslims are</p>	<p>Education Inclusion Community Service</p>	<p>Education Educate Education Monastery Monastery Community Communities Communities Eclectic Work Pray Serving Serving Serving Service</p>
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	<p>present, Protestants are</p> <p>present, so all these</p> <p>people are there, and</p> <p>all of them are being</p> <p>served by the</p> <p>monasteries, so I think</p> <p>that another over-</p> <p>arching goal in</p> <p>monasteries would be</p> <p>are we serving the</p> <p>people that are around</p> <p>us and not just serving</p> <p>ourselves? 'Cause it</p> <p>would... monks and</p> <p>nuns could live very</p> <p>comfortably if all they</p> <p>had to do was make</p> <p>sure they had food and</p> <p>make sure they had</p> <p>water and electricity,</p> <p>and... you know, they</p>		Serving
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	<p>could pray all day, at that point. But that's usually not the goal or the aim of the communities. Who are the people we're serving. And then the charisma of how that service is might be different. It might be education, it might be for women's communities, and especially hospitals, would be... a big part of their mission. But it would be, how are we serving those that are gathered around us?</p>		
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Int. C	<p>the overall goal of establishing Benedictine life, monastic life in these monasteries. I mean, that—just the broader goal, you might say. Course you might say secondary goals such as our work—you know, they’re all different. You know, Benedictines, we don’t have a common work. Each monastery chooses its work—the work it wants to do and how it’s going to support itself and so there’s—you know, I</p>	<p>Authenticity</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Diversity</p> <p>Choice</p> <p>Spirituality</p>	<p>Benedictine life</p> <p>Benedictine monastic life</p> <p>Benedictine monasteries</p> <p>Monastic life</p> <p>Monasteries</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Support</p>
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	would say those are the secondary		
Question 7			
Int. A	<p>AIM doesn't really have as its goal to start a community.</p> <p>I think it has as its goal the support of communities already in existence.</p> <p>So, you know, we're not a foundation-making organization. That isn't in a real way how Benedictine life operates. That foundation is made</p>	<p>Support</p> <p>Non-forming</p> <p>Assistance</p> <p>Propagation</p> <p>Foundation</p>	<p>Community</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Religious</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Foundation-</p> <p>making</p> <p>Foundation</p> <p>Foundation</p> <p>Foundation</p>

	<p>from a particular house</p> <p>that would either be</p> <p>asked to make a</p> <p>foundation or – mostly</p> <p>asked to make a</p> <p>foundation.</p>		<p>Benedictine life</p> <p>House</p> <p>House</p> <p>House</p> <p>House</p> <p>House</p> <p>Autonomy</p> <p>Autonomy</p> <p>Provinces</p> <p>Congregations</p> <p>Confederation</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Bishop</p> <p>Bishop</p>
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			<p>Abbot</p> <p>Superiors</p> <p>Staff</p> <p>Staffing</p> <p>Parish</p>
Int. B	<p>I don't know that AIM would necessarily, as an organization, start a monastery. But many monasteries in the developing world will come out of a missionary spirit, usually. And right now, actually, I think the Indian monasteries are really... they're thriving, and so they're able to</p>	<p>Non-forming</p> <p>Missionary</p> <p>Propagation</p>	<p>Monastery</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Missionary</p> <p>Germans</p> <p>Germans</p> <p>Germans</p> <p>African</p> <p>African</p> <p>Community</p>

	send offshoots off quite a bit.		Community African lead African owned
Int. C	The way a new monastery generally comes about is from an older established monastery, so if there's no older established monastery that wants to make a foundation the new monastery is not going to happen. In that sense AIM is not the principal actor there, OK? so the principle actor is the	Propagation Generation Choice Work Foundation	Older Established Monastery Older Established Monastery New Monastery New Monastery Foundation Founding Monastery Monks

	<p>founding monastery.</p> <p>They're the ones that decide where it's going, who's going to start— what monks are going to be there to start it, you know, etc. The work it's gonna do. It's all decided from the founding monastery</p>		<p>Work</p> <p>Work</p> <p>Authority</p> <p>Authority</p> <p>Abbot</p> <p>Prior</p> <p>Abbot President</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Monasteries</p> <p>Newsletter</p> <p>Information</p> <p>Volutneer</p>
Question 8			

Int. A	<p>I don't know that there's like a model community that would be help up for anybody, to anyone, in total, but I do think that in different communities...There may be a community who has a very nice already in place, so that particular piece may be very helpful to them, and they may send somebody from that monastery to say, "Okay, here's what I'm going to show you. Here's how we do it. You have to adapt it, of course, to your</p>	<p>Adaptation</p> <p>Organization</p> <p>Diversity</p>	<p>Different</p> <p>Expertise</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Monastery</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Communities</p>
--------	--	--	---

	situation, but this is how it's organized for us.		
Int. B	I would say it's a much more contextual... at the level of where it's happening, evaluation, rather than "here's the evaluation sheet, we're going to fill it out, how did that work out," file it away and be done with it. Because for most of the projects that AIM, and definitely the projects I worked on with Benedictine Volunteer Corps, are...	Contextual Evolving Commitment	Prayer Prayer Prayer Prayer Prayer Work Work Work Communities Communities Communities Community

	<p>much more ongoing.</p> <p>So if you are able to build a school, and start educating students, AIM might help you get to that point and then get out, and I'm not quite sure what would happen, but their success isn't gonna be measured at the end of the build, because that's only where the success is gonna start.</p>		
Int. C	<p>We're in the monastic tradition of the church, so I'm presuming that's what they deal with, um, so that's you might</p>	<p>Spirituality</p> <p>Assistance</p> <p>Generation</p> <p>Support</p>	<p>Divine</p> <p>People</p> <p>Community</p> <p>Communities</p> <p>Work</p>

	<p>say a broad model, you know broadly based.</p> <p>Then secondly of course they are helping with, in general, newer monasteries. I could see a point where there's an older monastery that's kind of in decline or losing vocations or there might be—in a particular country there might be circumstances—culture or economic, social that might affect the monastery directly where they would need some support from AIM.</p>		<p>Vows</p> <p>Franciscans</p> <p>Dominicans</p> <p>Jesuits</p>
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APPENDIX C - Census of Benedictine Monks in Tanzania

Number of Benedictine monks in Tansania

1987 - 2010

In brackets () is the number of European missionaries, for example 81 (69) means:

from 81 monks on the whole there are 69 monks form Europe.

Year	Peramiho Abbey	Uwemba Priory dependent house of Peramiho	Nairobi¹ Priory (Kenia) dependent house of Peramiho		Ndanda Abbey	Hanga Abbey Abbey since 1994	Mwimwa Abbey Abbey since 2001
1987	81 (69)	22 (22)	38 (13)		66 (64)	110 (0)	9 (0)
			Independent house since 1988				
1989	77 (66)	19 (19)	38 (12)		68 (66)	128 (0)	11 (0)
1991	69 (55)	17 (17)	38 (12)		72 (65)	128 (0)	16 (0)
			in 1992 transferred to Tigoni	Tigoni Priory (Kenia)			
1993	71 (57)	10 (10)		41 (12)	65 (59)	121 (0)	12 (0)
1995	66 (48)	13 (13)		41 (11)	69 (56)	131 (0)	13 (0)
1997	79 (50)	7 (7)		44 (11)	72 (52)	122 (0)	38 (0)
2000	60 (36)	7 (7)		35 (7)	67 (47)	133 (0)	73 (0)
2002 ²	59	7		43	70	139	78

¹ Nairobi was a dependent house of Peramiho Abbey. The vocations came both from Tansania and Kenia.

² Since 2002 there is no extra statistics of European missionaries assigned in monasteries of Tansania.

2004	60	8		47	67	128	62
2006	65	6		41	72	128	58
2008	62	8		37	71	128	57
2010 ³	61 (17)	9 (4)		50	73 (29)	124 (0)	58 (0)

³ For 2010 I (the archivist) counted the number of European missionaries myself.

APPENDIX D -Tanzanian Infant Mortality and Primary School Completion by Region

	Regions in Tanzania							
	Infant Mortality Rates				Primary Completion			
Year	Mwanza	Shinyanga	Rukwa	Ruvuma	Mwanza	Shinyanga	Rukwa	Ruvuma
1987								
1988	115	110	131	113				
1989								
1990								
1991					24.1	24.9	20.7	29.7
1992								
1993								
1994								
1995								
1996	101	90	109	68	21.6	21.4	23.9	32.5
1997								
1998	116	85	98	80				
1999								
2000	110	80	85	105				
2001								
2002	98	101	116	113				
2003	100	98	132	110	29.4	26.5	28.6	40.1
2004	93	93	122	102	27.9	28.6	22.1	36.2
2005	86	87	113	94				
2006	84	85	111	92				
2007	82	83	109	90	29.1	27.8	24.8	36.7
2008	80	81	108	88				
2009	79	80	106	87				
2010	77	78	104	85	26	26.6	26.4	39.2
2011	75	77	102	83	32.9	29.9	25.4	37.1
2012	74	75	100	82				
2013	72	73	99	80				
	per 1000 live births				percentage of population			
	Tanzania Data Portal sponsored by the African Development Bank							
	www.tanzania.opendataforafrica.org							
	AIS - Results from the AIDS Indicator Survey of the USAID Demographic Health Survey							
	Demographic Health Survey, USAID							

BENEDICTINE STATISTICS

The Benedictine Confederation 2010

Abbot Primate: Right Reverend Dom Notker Wolf, monk of St Ottilien Archabbey, Germany
(elected 7 September 2000 by the Abbots' Congress for an eight-year term of office, re-elected in 2008 and 2012 for a four-year term).

Address Badia Primaziale Sant'Anselmo, Piazza Cavalieri di Malta 5, I-00153 Roma, Italy

Primate's Secretariat ☎ +39 06 579 1319 • fax Curia: +39 06 579 1374

Sant'Anselmo College ☎ +39 06 579 1252 • fax College: +39 06 574.6863

CONGREGATION		Year of Formation	Abbeys 2010	Indep. Houses 2010	Dep. Houses 2010	Monks 2010	2005
English	1336	1216	10	—	5	309	333
Hungarian		1514	2	—	7	95	106
Swiss		1602	7	—	3	222	231
Austrian	1889	1625	12	2	2	331	337
Bavarian		1684	11	—	3	229	263
Brazilian		1835	4	3	7	165	211
Solesmes		1837	20	—	4	649	692
American Cassinese		1855	19	1	8	824	926
Beuronese		1863	9	1	1	239	253
Swiss American		1881	14	1	4	546	626
Ottilien	(1904)*	1884	14	4	37	1,032	1,058
Annunciation		1920	10	7	15	536	574
Slav		1945	4	—	2	30	30
Olivetani	(1960)*	1344	9	7	10	234	260
Vallombrosan	(1966)*	1090	2	1	9	66	72
Camaldolese	(1966)*	1074	—	3	9	96	107
Sylvestrine	(1973)*	1247	—	8	12	199	204
Cono Sur		1976	5	—	4	93	110
outside a congregation			4	1	6	144	80
Subiaco-Cassinese		2013	48	11	23	1,319	1,354
19 CONGREGATIONS			204	50	171	7,358	7,827
2005	Ordained 4,334	Non-Priests 3,011	Novices 360	Oblates 120	Total 7,827		
2000	Ordained 4,708	Non-Priests 3,108	Novices 451	Oblates 134	Total 8,401		

* A date in brackets is the date of entry into the Confederation.

The above statistics are drawn from the *Catalogus Monasteriorum OSB, Monachorum, Editio XX, 2005 and Editio XXI, 2010*.

Current statistics and further information can be found from the following websites:

Benedictine Confederation: www.osb-international.info (see Atlas section)

or direct via <http://atlas.osb-international.info/atlas/geo/WORLD/NameCat/1/en.html>

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